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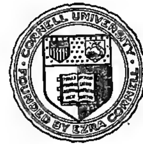

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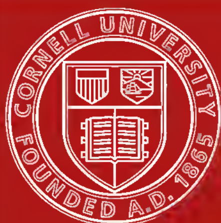

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A RECORD OF SPANISH PAINTING

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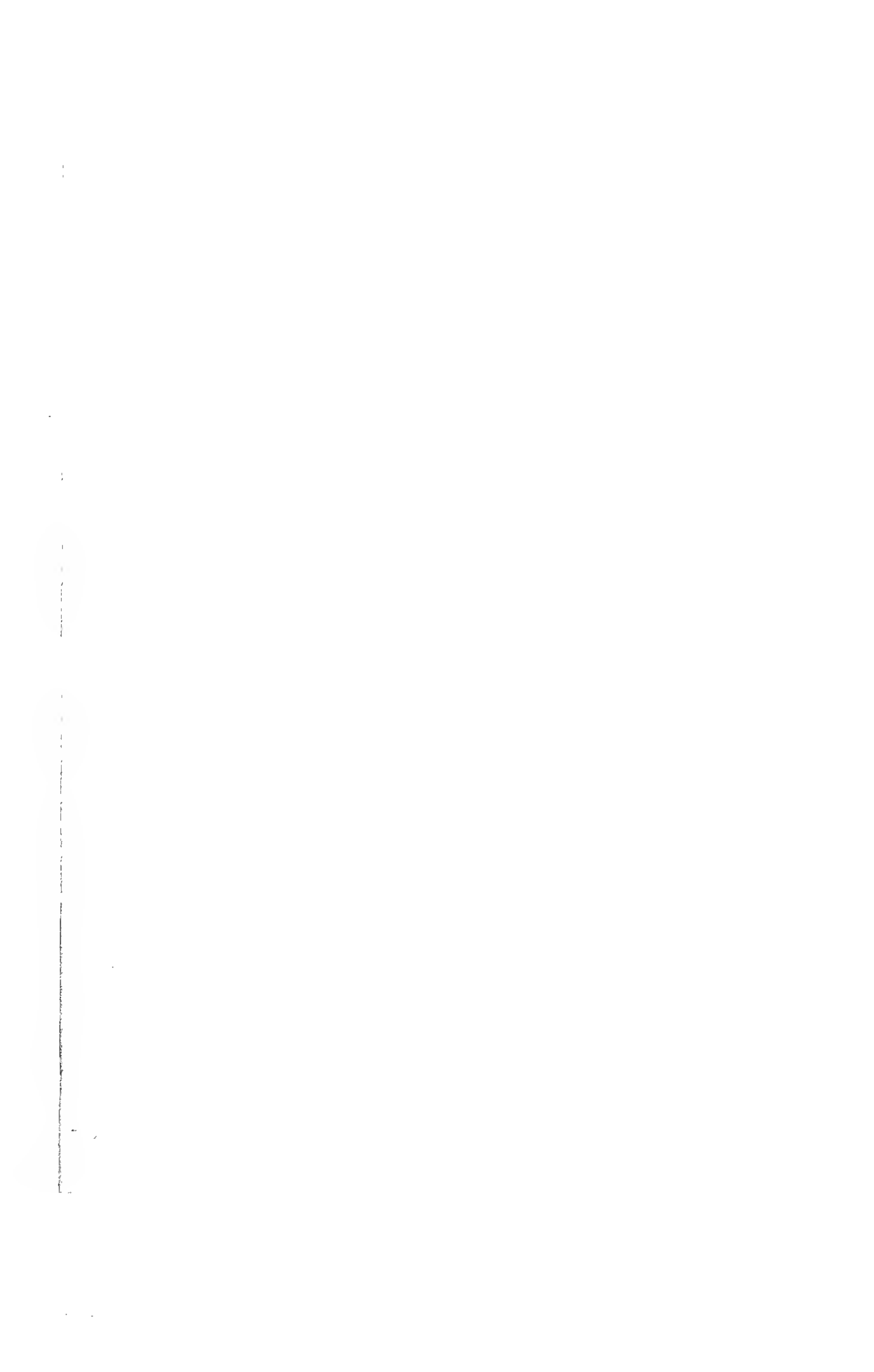

El Entierro del Conde Orgaz.

(*The Burial of Count Orgaz.*)

BY EL GRECO.

A RECORD OF
Spanish Painting

BY

C. GASQUOINE HARTLEY

(MRS. WALTER GALLICHAN),

Author of "Pictures in the Tate Gallery," etc.

Illustrated with Fifty-five Full-page Reproductions of Works by famous Spanish Artists.

London and Newcastle-on-Tyne:
THE WALTER SCOTT PUBLISHING CO., LTD.
NEW YORK: 3 EAST 14TH STREET.
1904.

T

TO

MY HUSBAND,

MY COMPANION DURING THE MONTHS

I WAS IN SPAIN,

THIS BOOK

IS AFFECTIONATELY INSCRIBED.

ERRATA.

Page 124, line 10, *for* left hand *read* right hand.
„ 128, „ 13, „ Navarette „ Navarrete.
„ 153, „ 1, „ „ „ „

PREFACE.

In writing the history of Spanish painting, I have striven to recount the growth of the country's art from the standpoint of historical evolution. It seemed to me that such a work was needed. The pictures of Spain are, in a very special degree, the outgrowth of the national life, and the distinctive character of the country's record has given them a specific interest. It is not over-stating the truth to say that Spain is the land where the seed was sown for the artistic harvest we are reaping to-day. It is these thoughts that have guided me while writing this record.

I have not tried to give a chronological account of every Spanish painter. This work has already been achieved by Sir William Stirling-Maxwell in the *Annals of the Artists of Spain.* I have never hesitated to omit those painters whose work to me seemed insignificant and without meaning in the development of the art-life of the country.

Those who know the obscurity which still shadows Spanish painting will appreciate the difficulties that beset the critic in striving to gain accurate information, especially of the early and little-known painters. It is perhaps useless to apologise for work that one has done; but the barriers in the way of research must be my plea for the errors or omissions which I fear may be

detected in these pages. I would, however, say that accuracy of statement has been my aim. I have endeavoured to establish the truth of every fact I have given, and in some few cases, where my efforts have failed, I have refrained from naming works I might otherwise have noticed. I think, without exception, my description of the pictures has been guided by my personal knowledge of the works. To write in detail of pictures I had not seen was, of course, impossible; but this limitation has, in a few instances, necessitated my passing over representative works of certain masters with only a brief reference. The labour of many workers will be needed before Spanish art is appreciated or truly appraised. It is my hope to have done something, however small, in helping to achieve this result.

My record would have been deficient in many particulars if I had not received the generous assistance of friends and correspondents in Spain and elsewhere. I am very deeply indebted to Don José López Cepero of Seville, for photographs of three pictures in his own collection, and for help in obtaining reproductions of many works of the Andalusian painters. My labour has also been considerably lessened by his kind services in giving me information with regard to the present locality and ownership of many Spanish pictures. To Señores Hauser y Menet of Madrid my thanks are cordially offered for their courtesy and the trouble they have taken in obtaining photographs for me of the pictures in the Museo del Prado, in the Académia de Bellas Artes, in the Escorial, as well as in other places. Another grateful acknowledgment is due to Señor Garzón and Señor Beauchy of

Seville, to Señor Mariano Moreno and Messrs. Laurent of Madrid, and to Señor Serrano of Toledo, whose photographs are reproduced in this volume. I beg also to express my obligation for the kindness of M. Henri Frantz, from whom I have received very valuable aid in collecting notes upon the modern Spanish painters. The picture "Un Mot Piquant," by Ignacio Zuloago, is reproduced by the courteous permission of the editor of *The Studio*. My thanks are also tendered to the editors of the *Art Journal* and the *Magazine of Art*, to Mr. Havelock Ellis, to Mr. W. Rothenstein, to Mr. James A. Manson, to Mrs. Esther Wood, and to the many friends whose sympathy and kindness have helped me.

A word of explanation is necessary with regard to the reproductions. Many of the Spanish pictures have been much damaged by time and ill-usage. These marks of necessity appear in the plates. In addition to this disadvantage, it is difficult to obtain photographs satisfactory for the purposes of reproduction of many Spanish pictures. Fine paintings are hidden in dimly-lighted churches, or stowed in inadequate museums, and especially is this true of the provincial artists, whose greatest works still remain in their native provinces. I have failed to procure a photograph of any picture by Alejo Fernandez, the greatest of the Gothic painters; by Luis Dalmau, the Gothic painter of Catalonia; by Herrera, *el Viego*, the pioneer of the Spanish naturalists; while the reproductions of the pictures by Juan de las Roelas, by Ribalta, by Alonso Cano, and a few other painters are not representative of their finest works.

To render the book of use to the student, appendices

have been added, dealing severally with the history of Spanish painting, with the chronology of the painters' lives, with their pictures in Spain, in the public galleries of London, and in the principal Continental collections, with a bibliography, and with an alphabetical index. It is necessary to say that the dates given in the chronologies of the lives of the early painters are often uncertain. In many cases they are offered as suggestions, and are not established by sufficient authority to be accepted without reservation.

A list of the books I have consulted will be found in the Bibliography of Appendix VII. To the writers of almost all of them I owe some debt which I would here acknowledge. It is not possible to particularise these works; but I would mention Professor Carl Justi's "Sketch of Spanish Art" in Baedeker's *Spain and Portugal*, as well as his exhaustive treatise upon *Velazquez and his Times*. During the months that I passed in the Peninsula, the work of the great German critic was my guide. Other writings that have specially helped me are Lord Leighton's "Address to the Academy Students upon Spanish Painting,"[1] delivered in London in 1889, Mr. R. A. M. Stevenson's *Velazquez* and *The Art of Velazquez*, Señor Beruete's *Velazquez*, Sir Walter Armstrong's *Portfolio Monographs* upon the painter, Sir W. Stirling-Maxwell's *Annals of the Artists of Spain*, Sir E. Head's *Handbook of Spanish Painting*, the works of Cean Bermudez, Palomino, and the Spanish historians, Baron Davillier's *Memoirs of Velazquez* and his work on *Fortuny*,

[1] Lord Leighton's Addresses to the Academy Students are issued in volume form (8vo, 7s. 6d.).

Preface

M. Edouard de Lalaing's *Histoire de quatre grands peintres,* Señor Laurent Matheron's *Goya,* Mr. W. Rothenstein's Monograph upon the great satirist, Mr. Richard Muther's *History of Modern Painting,* Mr. Arthur Symons' essay upon El Greco, "A Study at Toledo" in the *Monthly Review,* March 1901, and the article by M. P. Durrieu upon the early Spanish manuscripts, "MSS. d'Espagne remarquable par leur peintures." To these writers I would express my warmest thanks for the enlightenment and help I have gained from their work.

C. GASQUOINE HARTLEY.

THE CRIMBLES,
YOULGREAVE, DERBYSHIRE,
October 1904.

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A RECORD OF SPANISH PAINTING.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION—A BRIEF HISTORICAL SURVEY OF THE GROWTH OF THE ART SPIRIT IN SPAIN.

SPAIN is the land of contradictions, and this complexity, which characterises both the country and the people, as a natural corollary, is likewise existent in her art; for it is perhaps true in Spain to a greater degree than in any other country that the national art is the reflex—nay, the very revelation—of the national life and character. To comprehend the one without some knowledge of the other is well-nigh impossible. The pictures of Spain tell the story of Spain. The two cannot be severed the one from the other. Spanish artists have seized the racial characteristics, and left them imprinted as witnesses upon their canvases. All the entangled diversities that have combined to produce the Spain of to-day may be found embodied in the history of Spanish art.

From the earliest dawn of civilisation, dating from the days of the Visigoths, two great motive powers swayed the Spanish people,—the influence of the Crown and the power of the Church. Implicit obedience to the former and unswerving, unreasoning belief in the latter were the basic principles upon which the Spanish character was moulded. This excessive and abnormal growth of spiritual and temporal power was largely engendered by the continual warfare which devastated

the country; wars which in Spain, almost without exception, assumed the aspect of conflicts for the Faith. In this way Crown and Church were united in one common purpose, the one supporting the other, and gaining thereby an enormous strength—a strength which, it is true, was often used for the good of the people, but which nevertheless sealed their destiny. Dependent, weakened, unable to stand or think alone, the ultimate end of this government of leading-strings was ruin.

It is true that for a time this yoke of dual patronage enabled the art of Spain to flourish and develop in a manner without precedent in the history of any other European school, but it nevertheless laid its heavy burden of exacting payment upon the very genius it called into birth. The artists of Spain were cramped and stultified in their finest expression by the strict and often childish surveillance of king and priest. Indeed, it is not overstating the truth to say that the patronage which called the Spanish school into its fullest, fairest existence likewise caused its destruction. Separated from the rest of Europe, difficult of access, with almost tropical physical phenomena, the Spaniard was born in an environment which, by purely natural influences, caused him to be peculiarly prone to superstition. The more gloomy and awe-inspiring aspects of religion appealed to him with the utmost potency. Ignorant, and therefore timid, the artists of Spain readily submitted to the restrictions of the Catholic Church. The study of the nude was for long prohibited; therefore, many of the Spanish artists fail most perceptibly in the correct drawing of the human form. The Church feared the enticing spell of sex, and inculcated the idea that the female form was apt to lure into the ways of sin the artist who strove to depict its beauties; and for this reason portraits of women are rare in Spain, and, broadly speaking, of less merit than those of men. Monkish life was extolled by the Church, and

the priesthood exalted as the highest ideal, and therefore many of the finest Spanish pictures are studies of monkish frocks and cowls, while the costly vestments of the Church dignitaries afforded the Spanish artist the requisite practice in the painting of draperies, for which he is justly celebrated. The most stringent rules were inculcated by the Church for the painting of scriptural pictures, while profane compositions were for long utterly condemned. The dress, attitude, age, and expression of the Virgin all were decided by the fathers of the Church. The exact position of the Saviour upon the Cross was a detail of the gravest moment. The Cross must be fifteen feet by eight feet, neither more nor less, the timber must be flat and not round, while four nails, and not three, must invariably be depicted. Any deviation, however trifling, from these rules was regarded as heresy, and was punished by the Familiar of the Inquisition, an officer appointed in all the chief centres of culture, to exercise a stringent art censorship. Here is a copy of the commission which was granted to him:—"We give him commission and charge him henceforward that he take particular care to inspect and visit all paintings of sacred subjects which may stand in shops or in public places; if he finds anything to object to in them, he is to take the picture before the Lords the Inquisitors." The punishment for executing an immodest painting or sculpture was a fine of 1500 ducats and a year's imprisonment. A painter of Córdova was imprisoned for representing the Virgin in an embroidered petticoat, while the sculptor Torrigiano died in the cells of the Inquisition for having, in a gust of passion, broken one of his own statues of the Virgin and Child. Thus, insidious and far-reaching was the influence with which the Church of Spain governed the artistic trend of the nation.

Nor were those artists who painted under the patronage of the Crown freed from this cramping espionage. To be

the painter-in-ordinary to the royal house of Spain was no sinecure. The Austrian monarchs were ever shadowed with gloom. Constitutional melancholy was their inherited curse. The royal artist was their servant, bound to them with ties which might not be broken. The Court painter could rarely permit his talent to follow its natural, unrestricted bent. He painted the pictures his master required, and his genius in portraiture was exclusively restricted to depicting the king and the members of the royal household. To delineate again, and yet again, the melancholy countenances of the sons of Austria,—to reanimate this decaying stock, was a task of no mean order. What the finest portrait-painters of Spain have accomplished in this direction will ever stand as a titanic witness to their genius.

The long early years of conflict and intestine disorder did much to retard the artistic life of Spain. It was not until the capture of Granada, in 1492, which overthrew the Moorish kingdom and established the reign of the Catholic kings, that the Spanish school of painting may be said in any true sense to have existed.

Spanish art is at least fifty to a hundred years behind the other European schools. Especially is this true with regard to the works of Italy and Flanders. The centuries which produced the "Primavera" of Botticelli and the exquisite Madonnas of Raphael in Italy, and the truth-inspiring portraits of Jan van Eyck in Flanders, in Spain saw nothing but the birth of the Castilian and Andalusian schools. This fact of the late development of the Spanish school is of the utmost importance. Criticism becomes useless unless it is remembered. To compare the works of the Spanish artists in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries with those of Italy or Flanders would be as unfair and futile as to contrast the drawings of a clever child with the finished works of a carefully-trained genius. This retarded artistic birth was largely due to the con-

tinual conflicts, which threw into discredit any occupation unconnected with the sword. But it was fostered, even in a larger measure, by that spirit of dependence, which was cherished by the kings, and prelates of the Crown, and Church of Spain.

This negation of moral freedom was the cause of a further characteristic of the Spanish school, which is of equal, even if not of greater moment than the lateness of its development. By the superstitious rendering up of will and conscience, the Spanish artist, like the Spanish citizen, was kept in a position of childish subordination. This to a great extent stultified his potency, making him timid and unable to rely upon himself. He could copy and follow, but rarely could he initiate. In its dawn Spanish art was a heterogeneous mass of borrowed elements. From the very first the Spaniard was quick to assimilate foreign influence; but, though his power of imitation was great, for long he failed obviously when required to stand alone. Naturally the Spaniard possesses but little *creative* artistic impulse, and it was not until the seventeenth century that Spanish art became initiative. The artistic genius of the nation lies, not in its constructive force, but in its power of stamping with the seal of its own idiosyncrasy all that it has acquired from without. This distinctive trait, which may be termed the power of reflecting originally the work of others, is the reason of the enormous influence which the Flemish and Italian schools exerted in Spain. It was an influence of such magnitude that it dominates every detail of Spanish art, until it sometimes becomes difficult to detect what is purely national amid the plexus of acquired styles.

The second period of Spanish history stands in startling contrast to the first. Like a brilliant meteor, the rule of the early Catholic sovereigns broke upon the world. The record of Spain during these years was one uninterrupted, triumphant progress. The æsthetic growth of the country

participated in this phenomenal advancement. Her greatness in art is coeval with her sudden rise in power. Scarcely more than a hundred years—one short century—is needed to cover the lives of the twelve artists whom M. Viardot names as the great painters of Spain.

This sudden growth into full maturity, after the long evolution of undeveloped possibilities, was likewise due to the all-dominant power of Church and State patronage. Ferdinand and Isabella the Catholics, the Emperor Charles V., his son Philip II., and their successors were all patrons of art. The Church, made strong with their strength, and doubly fortified by the terrible weapon of the Inquisition, also held out its protective hand to aid the fine arts. Sculpture, painting, literature, each was needed to glorify God. But upon the death of Charles II., the last scion of the worn-out Austrian dynasty, who, effete in all else, was still the friend of culture, the artistic life of Spain collapsed with a suddenness equalled only by the rapidity of its rise. The Bourbons cared nothing for art. The Church, by its cruel exactions, and still more by its awful bigotry, had lost much of its former power. The Spanish schools of painting, unable to stand without their time-worn supports, shared the fate of the country. Not even the enthusiasm and biting satire of Francisco Goya could reanimate the art spirit in Spain.

A prolonged, unnoticed infancy, little known and little valued, a sudden, swift, and brilliant maturity, and a long slumbering in the lethargy of hopelessness—such, briefly, is the record of Spanish art.

What, then, are the more important of those qualities peculiar to the paintings of Spain, which were called into life by this exceptional chronicle?

Perhaps, first and most important, must be mentioned sombreness. There is a certain manifest reserve in the great proportion of Spanish pictures. But the term sombreness must not be taken to convey the idea of

gloom; rather it represents a decorous purity, at times verging towards coldness. It is an element very difficult to explain or classify, but it permeates every detail of Spanish art. It is the spirit of the nation embodied in her pictures. Subject, colour, treatment—all express the proud, almost cold, reserve which is so prevalent in the Spanish character;—a feature born of their history, and increased by their climatic and geographical surroundings. Very few of the Spanish pictures are gay; indeed, it is rarely, except in the case of portraits, that any secular subject is found in the galleries of the Peninsula. Sombre tones and dark shadows are seldom absent from the canvas, while a certain sobriety marks both the treatment and the conception of the subject. The finest pictures are painted with a luminous gravity of tone which frequently rises to a veritable glow of colour.

The great mass of Spanish art is devotional in character. To the Spaniard the subject was all-important. Their pictures had other purposes to serve besides the æsthetic. They were painted to enforce the lessons of the Church; they were used as warnings, and as a means of recording the lives of the saints. These features are common to the vast majority of the compositions of the Middle Ages, but the intense religious solemnity of the Spanish pictures is a thing apart. It is a distinctive trait that can never be separated from the art of the country; for in Spain, even more than in the contemporary mediæval schools, it is true that men painted feeling the hand of God upon them. "The chief end of the works of Christian art is to persuade men to piety and to bring them to God," writes the artist-historian Pacheco, as late as the seventeenth century. It is difficult for the modern mind to realise how intense and all-absorbing was the religious symbolism of a people steeped in mysticism and superstition. The artist was the servant of the Church, bound to her with ties that could rarely be broken. The influences of religion entered into

all the minutiæ of his existence, it permeated the very atmosphere in which he lived. Many instances of miraculous interventions are recorded. A story widely circulated by all Spanish writers tells of a painter who was saved from destruction by the aid of the Virgin, when mounted upon a high scaffold for the purpose of executing her image. The platform suddenly gave way, whereupon the Virgin extended her completed arm and upheld the astonished artist until help was forthcoming.

To comprehend the art spirit of those bygone times we must divest ourselves of much of our modern thought. The culture of one generation can never be wholly the culture of a succeeding race. Each people has its own standards and its own ideals. The truth remains, but the form changes as the centuries fade away. Great religious pictures are out of harmony with the crowded modern gallery. They demand their old environment of quiet monastery or solemn Gothic temple. The pictures of Spain were painted for believers by believers. We must never forget that much of their art, which to us is unreal, even if not actually absurd, was to the people for whom it was painted symbolically divine and full of beauty.

After sombreness and deep religious feeling, perhaps coarseness of outline must be acknowledged as one of the most striking features of Spanish painting. We find little of that delicate poetic perception which is almost always present in the pictures of Italy. The Spaniard, although living in the south, belongs to the Visigothic race. His inherited characteristics are Northern rather than Southern. He has little natural imagination, and his training has fostered that lack of sensitiveness which is perhaps one of the strongest factors in his nature.

This want of æsthetic sensibility has indelibly stamped the artistic expression of the nation. In the majority of Spanish pictures we search in vain for any ideal of form or trace of exquisiteness. It would often seem as if the artists

disregarded beauty, accounting it almost as an item unworthy of their notice. Their canvases display a certain distinctive boldness, at times verging upon coarseness. Delicacy and refinement in drawing are often absent, for the Spanish artists, with very few exceptions, subordinate everything to strength. Their pictures are the utterance of a distinctly virile people, a race with a gloomy faith, strong dramatic instincts, and an intense love of fact. They bear the imprint of their dominant personality. Their very faults largely arise from individual and determinate design; and this is true in spite of the fact that Spanish art was to a great extent borrowed.

CHAPTER II.

THE HISTORY OF SPANISH PAINTING PREVIOUS TO THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

THE first records of art in Spain are little more than legendary. They are shrouded in mystery that is well-nigh impenetrable. Apart from the illuminated drawings of the religious missals, we have few authoritative examples of any painted work earlier than the fifteenth century. One or two names have survived, while here and there we find traces of time-worn relics, a mural painting, or a faded altar-piece. That is all. We have little assured knowledge; much of the work that remains is undecipherable, and all criticism is, of necessity, conjectural. Yet the study of this crude beginning is of vital significance. Many of those essential traits that at all times have characterised Spanish work are seen in this time of inception.

No trace of any painting executed during the Roman and Visigothic periods remains. The first awakening of the art spirit found utterance in buildings and rude sculpture. It was not until the Christian faith grew in power that painting became the chosen instrument for the expression of art.

To wholly ignore these early works in stone is impossible, for they form the basic foundation of all early painting. Spain is rich in the remains of Roman architecture. At Seville, Córdova, Mérida, and innumerable other cities wrecked walls, aqueducts, amphitheatres, palaces, and towers all witness to a race of mighty builders. But these ruins transmit no adequate impression of the glory

of the Roman workmanship. Mérida, a poverty-stricken hamlet resting among the hills that circle the banks of the Guadiana, was once called in arrogance "The Spanish Rome." The city was built by Augustus in B.C. 23, and for long it was the capital of the Roman province of Lusitania. Its great buildings were all of granite. Traces of its forum, its aqueducts, its amphitheatre, its triumphal arches, its villas, and its camps can still be seen. Its Temple of Mars is now a church. Its mighty bridge, once of more than eighty arches, is still standing. The *Chronicle of the Cid* describes the city as having eighty-four gates, five castles, and three hundred and seventy towers.

A memorial of efficient building became the heritage of the Spanish people, and for long Byzantine influence was a factor in the national art.

Over the Visigothic buildings[1] we need not linger; nor is there any marked significance in the scattered fragments of sculpture that have survived from Roman and Visigothic days.[2] In Spain there are no relics of classic

[1] Many Visigothic churches were erected between 414 and 714, but few remain. Possibly the best instance is the small basilica at Baños. The inscription states that the church was built by King Recceswind, in 661. In the northern provinces and especially in Asturias, there are many Visigothic buildings of a somewhat later date. Most of them were built during the Moorish occupation of Spain, when the Visigoths were driven into the mountains of the north. In Spain the Visigothic architecture is called *Obras de los Godos* (the work of the Goths), a name that has no connection with the later Gothic style.

[2] The earliest authentic examples of Roman sculpture are stone carvings of the Rape of Proserpine and of a Lion Hunt. They are two of a series of sarcophagi, embedded in the choir wall of the old church of San Felíu, at Gerona. The best specimens of Visigothic workmanship are three golden crowns found at Guarrazar, a small town near Toledo, in 1858 and 1860. Two of the crowns are at Madrid, the third is in the Musée de Cluny at Paris. The latter crown bears an inscription which proves it belonged to King Recceswind, who ruled from 649 to 672. The Madrid crowns are clearly of the same period.

sculpture. The great message of the Greeks, the expression of the ideal through the instrument of form, was already waning at the time of the Roman occupation of the Iberian peninsula. Christianity had replaced paganism, and the era of painting was slowly dawning. But at this time the development of Spanish art was suddenly arrested by the invasion of the Moors.

Already we have spoken of these centuries of conflict that remodelled the history of Spain, when all artistic growth was fragmentary and of secondary moment. It was not until the fifteenth century that the sons of Spain had time to paint. Yet these years of warfare were not without artistic fruit. A new African strain was superadded to the rich medley of the Spanish race,[1] and the æsthetic effect of this Oriental admixture cannot easily be over-emphasised. It is true that the fine culture of the Moors was never assimilated by the Spaniards, and the painting of Spain is wholly wanting in that sense of exquisite delicacy which never fails to characterise Moorish art. But, almost in defiance of themselves, the Spaniards were swayed by the culture of the Moors. The legacy of their glorious buildings, the influence of their inherent artistic perception, and of their skill in craftsmanship, all these things in some measure moulded the direction of Spanish work. It was the Moors who gave to the Spaniards what is perhaps their finest artistic quality: from the Oriental love of colour they learned a true under-

[1] The Spanish race is composed of heterogeneous elements. They were not one race, but an amalgam of many races. Originally an Iberian stock with a strong Celtic strain, they were conquered, first by the Latins of Rome, and secondly by the great Germanic tribe of the Visigoths. All these elements united in generating the Spanish race. In the eastern and southern provinces there was a further foreign admixture of Greek, Phœnician, and Carthaginian settlers. For an amplification of this interesting and important point, see the able address by Lord Leighton upon Spanish art, to the students of the Royal Academy, December 1889.

standing of tone—a heritage of colour-perception, which never entirely left them; indeed, it may be found in their painters to-day.

Greater than the sway of Arabic culture was the control the national struggle exercised upon the national character. All that is essentially Spanish in the people was rough-cast during these years. The Spanish love of fact and detail,[1] the people's passionate pride in their faith,[2] in their country, and in their king, all the power and all the weakness of the race, were developed during these years. Eight centuries of national struggles gave to the Spaniards their sternness, their virility, their intense religious perception, and their tendency to dramatic gloom. We have noticed these traits already, again and again they will meet us, as we study the national art. They are the sub-structure of all Spanish painting.

The first traces of Christian painting date back to the early centuries after the Moorish conquest. We find them in the rude miniatures decorating the manuscripts of the ninth and tenth centuries. These drawings are probably the degenerate outgrowth of the Visigothic traditions. In Spain the work is called Byzantine, but it must be regarded as a barbarously degraded Latin style. There is no sign of that Greek feeling which ennobles many of the Byzantine miniatures. In these early Spanish drawings the human form is sometimes hardly recognisable, and this grotesque draughtsmanship is specially seen in the miniatures of the *Andalucian Códices*. The faces are merely indicated by caligraphic lines and flourishes, wrought in the roughest manner. The colour

No one can travel in Spain without noticing this characteristic in the people. They will ask questions of minute detail, and they always appear to regard every subject in part rather than as a whole.

This faith has of necessity lessened. It is now a lingering tradition. How strong it was in the past a brief survey of the Spanish writers will prove.

is wholly primitive, blue and red being the favourite hues.

A very rude example of this early work is a *Liturgia Mozarabic*, a Spanish manuscript of very early date, now in the British Museum. It is written in Visigothic characters, and ornamented with grotesque capitals. The figures are little more than shapeless scribbles, the neck and chin are of enormous length, while the eyes are indicated by large red dots, a second eye being frequently drawn above the first.

More important examples of early work are the *Códice Vigiliano* and the *Códice Emiliano* of the Escorial. These manuscripts are of a later date, and are ornamented with full-page illustrations. Still the drawing is barbaric, but, in spite of its crudity, the interest of the work is great. The *Códice Vigiliano* was written in 1014 by Sarracinus and his pupil Garcia, two of the three[1] tenth-century illuminators whose names are recorded by Cean Bermudez. It is a large volume, freely illustrated with varied subjects, scriptural and historical scenes being freely intermingled. One page shows a large figure of Christ, another depicts Adam and Eve in Paradise, while a third represents the historical council of Toledo. The most important is a full-page historical scene at the end of the volume. Nine figures fill the page, and the picture illustrates a company of Gothic kings coming towards the Christian sovereigns, Don Sancho and Don Ramiro.

The illuminations of the *Códice Emiliano*[2] are uniform with those of the companion manuscript. Perhaps the inexperience of the execution is even more manifest, and indeed the pictures are very quaint, both in their drawing and in their colour. The most distinctive is the illustra-

[1] The third illuminator was Vigila.

[2] The *Códice Emiliano* came from the Monasterio de la Cogolla, and the writing was begun in 1014, the same year as the *Códice Vigiliano*.

tion that terminates the volume: a page of nine historical portraits, grouped in three ranges.

The value of these códices is remarkable; not only from the fact that they are in all probability the earliest instances of Spanish painting, but because the work has a fine historical significance. A French critic,[1] writing upon the *Remarkable Manuscripts of Spain*, comments upon "the lively interest" of these illuminations. He says, "They are executed in an unformed art still allied to the barbaric. The rendering of heads is infantine, the eyes are gigantic, covering a large part of the face, and, above all, the hands are of excessive size. *But beneath this inexperience there is a feeling of sincerity, a certain original simplicity.*"

I would specially accentuate the sentence printed in italics. This "feeling of sincerity" is essentially a Spanish trait, and in truth these early paintings are very national. The historical scenes, with their local portraiture, glorify the native pride. All the accessories are painted with the Spanish love of detail. Famous relics are often introduced into the sacred scenes, and in more than one of the pictures the *Cruz de los Angelos* of Oviedo[2] is visible. It is not too much to say that the entire spirit of the work foreshadows the painting of later years.

A great change arises in the illuminations executed after the opening of the eleventh century. Distinct traces of Moorish influence are now manifest. For the first time we note the sway of the Oriental colour, while in many of the illustrations there are Moresque buildings, with the horse-shoe arch and Arabic battlements.[3] Fine

[1] M. Paul Durrieu.

[2] A cross of the eighth century, added to the treasures of Oviedo by Alfonso II.

[3] This element of Moresque architecture forms one of the distinctive marks of Spanish illumination. In many ways the

samples of this Hispano-Arabesque workmanship decorate a manuscript in the Biblioteca Nacional at Madrid, a work that formerly belonged to the Colegiata de San Isidoro of León. The manuscript carries the signature of the copyist Facundus, and bears the date of 1085 in the Spanish era, which corresponds to the year 1047 of Jesus Christ. In all the illustrations the horse-shoe arch is seen, and in many of the pictures there are elaborate palaces where the figuration of the architecture is distinctly Moresque. A companion manuscript is guarded in the Archivo Historico at Madrid, and there are many other instances of this distinctive work in Spanish collections.

During the twelfth century the art of illumination was greatly developed in Spain, a new French influence was introduced, and the Visigothic characters were replaced by lettering from France. A large Bible in the Madrid Biblioteca Nacional, known as the Bible of Avila, has some wonderful miniatures. Three pages in the centre of the volume are entirely filled with scenes from the life of the Saviour. They are of Oriental colour, and greatly enriched with gold. The figures are curious and barbaric, and the pictures are still remarkable for the Spanish love of strength and detail.

But the finest expression of Spanish illuminative art was due to the patronage of Alfonso the Learned, the ruler of Castile and León during the thirteenth century. The king-sage was a poet and wrote canticles and other songs. A copy of his *Santiagas de Santa Maria* is treasured at the Escorial; his Bible, copied by Pedro de Pamplona, is in the Biblioteca Columbina of Seville Cathedral; some of his books are at Madrid, while

Spanish miniatures resemble the work of Western Europe, and are specially linked to the missals of the Franks, and to the ornamental designs of Northern Ireland.

many others have disappeared. All the manuscripts of Alfonso are richly illuminated. The miniatures are of great variety; scriptural compositions are inserted, with others illustrating the history of Alfonso. There is one picture of large size, where the king is seen listening to his musicians as they chant the holy service. Most of the drawings have numerous figures which are full of animation and spirit, the attitudes being very true, while the movements are drawn with remarkable freedom and naturalness. This is what the French writer[1] says of these illustrations: "They denote a certain relative knowledge. What carefulness of detail they show! What amusing exactitude in the rendering of all the accessories;—costumes, arms, instruments of music, boats, jewellery, furniture, objects of art! The archæologian and historian here find a rare field. A certain local character gives an exceptional interest to the composition. They show us the Spain of Alfonso, and also the Spain of the Arabs; the Spain of the Alhambra and of the Mosque of Córdova."

A number of richly illuminated missals were executed during the fourteenth century. These later miniatures give evidence of advanced knowledge; the drawing is better, and the painters have a truer comprehension of the value of colour. But the work is less typically Spanish. The composition is swayed by a French influence that renders the idea less distinctive, although the execution is better. The illuminations of Alfonso remain the most individual utterance in Spanish art prior to the fifteenth century.[2]

[1] The same writer before quoted.

[2] The French influence increased in power until the close of the fifteenth century. The distinctive Spanish traits were not wholly lost until that time, when the illuminative art fell beneath the sway of the Flemish and Italian artists, settled in Spain, and all national distinctiveness was obscured.

In these early illuminative paintings the distinctive characteristic is an excessive love of detail, a tendency that often results in the introduction of an almost ludicrous medley of common objects into both the historical and scriptural scenes. In its infancy all art inclines towards riot of fancy. Forms of beauty are indiscriminately mingled, a striving after unrealised effects is evident, and superfluous ornament is introduced, without any restraint of selection. But in these Spanish miniatures there is something more than this profuseness, common to all primitive effort. The details have a distinctiveness peculiarly their own—a distinctiveness with a strong national flavour. Natural incidents are freely introduced, and are always treated dramatically, the local colouring is very marked, strength at all times appears to appeal to the painter rather than beauty, portraiture is common, and in the latter illustrations the faces have individual character and are not mere types. It is necessary to dwell upon these facts, for these missal illustrations are the only clear record of Spanish painting wrought before the fifteenth century; and it is a truth of vital moment that this early work is definitely ingrained with the Spanish idiosyncrasies.

When we leave the illuminated manuscripts nothing but confusion confronts us. The few mural and easel paintings that have survived the wreckage of time are dim, dirty, and almost obliterated; or they have been re-painted until the original work is lost.

The most notable of these early mural pictures are the painted figures of saints in the side niches of the little Mosque of El Cristo de la Luz,[1] at Toledo, and the *al secco*

[1] It was in this mosque that Alfonso VI. caused the first mass to be read, after the capture of the city in 1085, owing, it is said, to the fact that his horse knelt before this building upon his first entrance into Toledo.

vault paintings in the Capilla de Santa Catalina,[1] the chapel that forms the Royal Pantheon of the Colegiata de San Isidoro, at Leon. Both pictures were probably painted in the twelfth century. The paintings are Romanesque in character, but, unfortunately, the dim light and the neglected condition of the frescoes render it impossible to see the details. In many of the early churches among the mountain districts Byzantine paintings are still preserved. Several instances are reported in Asturias and Aragon,[2] but it is not easy to verify their authenticity, for the Spaniards take little interest in early art relics. At San Teruel, a small town north-west of Valencia, are some curious early paintings, dating back to early in the thirteenth century.[3] They are painted upon the wooden ceiling of the cathedral nave, above a false vaulting belonging to a later date. Their style is Mudíjar, and the scenes are partly Moorish and partly Christian. The colours are still true and brilliant, and there is striking force in the drawing of many of the pictures.

The first Spanish painter whose name has been chronicled is Petrus de Hispania, who worked in England as painter to Henry III. His name is mentioned in the accounts at Westminster, and we read that, in 1233, "he was ordered to repair the painting in the King's oratory, near the bed;" while, in 1237, "the King ordered his

[1] I tried to take a photograph of these paintings, and also of some frescoes of a later date, in the cloisters of Leon Cathedral, but owing to bad light and the obliterated condition of the work the negatives were failures.

[2] Professor Carl Justi speaks of the fact of there being such drawings, but he gives no particulars about them.

[3] I have not personally seen these pictures. I received my information about them from Mr. Dodgson, of Oxford, upon whose judgment I have every reason to rely. Mr. Dodgson knows Spain well. He is the translator of the Basque Testament, and is a great authority upon all Spanish antiquarian subjects.

treasurer to pay Master Petrus de Hispania, whom he had retained in his services to make pictures when required, sixpence for his wages daily, so long as he was employed in the King's service, and also to pay the same Petrus ten pounds for his expenses, in going with his clerk of Toulouse to parts beyond the seas, and in return for two shields which he had made for the King's use, and brought to him at Chester."

A second name recorded is Rodrigo Estéban, the artist of Sancho, *El Bravo*. We know nothing of the painter beyond an entry in a MS. account book of the Royal Library, which orders a hundred maravedis to be paid out of the privy purse to his painter, Rodrigo Estéban, for certain works, executed in 1291 and 1292. In his *Diccionario Historico* Cean Bermudez mentions twenty-five artists who lived before the fifteenth century. No work from any of these painters has survived. Ramon Torrente[1] and his scholar Guillen Tort worked in Aragon during the first half of the fourteenth century, where, Cean Bermudez tells us, they painted with considerable merit, and executed figures in the Gothic style. About the same time a certain Gonzala Diaz was painting in Seville, but we know nothing with regard to his work. Somewhat later, in 1382, Juan Cesilles, a painter of Barcelona, completed a series of pictures on the history of San Pedro, for the Church of the Apostle, in the town of Reus, receiving for his work three hundred and thirty ducats of Aragon. These pictures remained in the church until 1557, when they were removed and either lost or destroyed.

Many early Spanish pictures have been lost. An essay, written by Pablo de Céspedes in 1640, and addressed to Pedro de Valencia, proves the certainty of this fact. "In the parish church of San Pedro, in our city of Córdova," writes the painter, "on the right wall, there are many

[1] Torrente died in 1323.

paintings of those times[1] which escaped the barbarous fury of the Moors when they held that place, though they have not escaped the ravages of time and the neglect of those entrusted with the care of the church. The consequence is, they are scarcely intelligible from the injury which they have received and the dust which has accumulated upon them. This sort of painting, rude and savage as it is, appears to have been the ashes whence was destined to spring that fairest Phœnix of modern art which has since burst forth in such splendour and riches."

The birth of Spanish painting is closely allied with the religious life of the country, and the first potent impulse to painting was the building of the great cathedrals in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Santiago, Cuenca, León, Tarragona, Salamanca, Burgos, the great temples of Spain, were all of early date.[2] The builders of these churches were also skilful carvers in stone, and in 1158 Maestro Mateo built the grand frontage of Santiago, enriching it with foliaged niches, wherein rested figures of sculptured stone. We read that, for this work, a pension of one hundred maravedis was granted to Maestro Mateo by Ferdinand II., the first instance of a Spanish sovereign protecting the arts. A certain Frater Bernardus, who died in 1256, is named as the *magister operis* of Tarragona Cathedral, and he may have been the actual designer of the building. Later, in 1282, Maestro Bartolomé wrought a series of tracery, with sculptures of the Virgin, Child, Prophets, and Apostles, over the main portal of the minster.

These names are selected from a number of master-craftsmen, men whose technical skill and practical workmanship gave vigour to the early painters who were

[1] The Moors were driven from Córdova in 1236, therefore the pictures the painter speaks of must be prior to that date.

[2] The latest of the cathedrals was Seville, which was not begun until 1401.

associated with them. But the great outgrowth of the building of these churches was the introduction of the architecture of Northern France,[1] thereby evoking a corresponding change in the national style of drawing. This change may be readily traced in the figures that decorate the monuments of the old cathedral at Salamanca.[2] It may be seen again in certain sculptures and bas-reliefs still existing in the Cathedral of Pampluna and in the Colegiata at Tudela.[3]

There are few effective examples of any early painting resulting from this new manner. Two large mural decorations of the Virgin, known as Neustra Señora Rocamador and Neustra Señora del Coral,[4] are probably the best. Nothing is known of the author of these paintings; they are treasured in the churches of San Lorenzo and San Ildefonso at Seville, and both belong, by their date, to the fourteenth century. The drawings have a certain quaint ruggedness which indicates a Spanish origin; the colours are much faded. In the Capilla de la Antigua of Seville Cathedral is an interesting altar-piece of the Virgin and the infant Christ holding a rose, which dates back to the

[1] Many of the Spanish churches strongly resemble the churches of France, and there can be little doubt that many of them were built by French architects. For instance, the Cathedral of Santiago is directly allied with St. Sernin of Toulouse.

[2] There are two cathedrals at Salamanca, the Cathedral Nueva, built by the Catholic kings in 1491, and the Cathedral Viega, now often called Santa Maria de la Sedé. Tradition says this building was founded by Count Raymond of Burgundy in 1100. The cathedral was not finished until 1200.

[3] Pampluna and Tudela are two ancient towns in Navarre. From its position Navarre was peculiarly open to French influences. The Colegiata of Tudela, formerly the cathedral, was built during the thirteenth century. Mr. Street speaks of this building as one of the best churches in Europe.

[4] The work was not discovered until 1804, when it was found during some alterations in the church.

fourteenth century, but the canvas has been heavily repainted, and little of the initial work remains.

Late in the fourteenth century a new influence arose, and for the first time Italian painters worked in Spain. Gherardo Starnina, a Florentine, the pupil of Antonio Veneziano, was summoned to Spain in 1378, and for several years was employed to paint in the Castilian Court for Juan I. None of his pictures can be traced, but Vasari tells us that "he left Italy poor and clownish, and returned hither a rich and courteous gentleman," a comment which pays a tribute to both the generosity and the character of the Spaniards. Starnina was a painter of merit, and a eulogy written upon his tomb speaks of his pictures as *pulcherrima opera.* In the reign of Juan II.,[1] another Florentine, Fiorentino Dello, belonging to the school of Giotto, worked in Seville. We learn from Vasari that Dello's "drawing was indifferent, but he was one of the first artists who attempted to display the muscles of the naked figure." We read that he was known for the charm of his miniature medallions, used for the embellishment of coffers and other specimens of costly furniture. All trace of his work is lost,[2] but he amassed great wealth in Seville, and in proof of his prosperity it is recorded that "he always painted in an apron of stiff silk brocade."

Other Italian artists, whose names have been forgotten, were located in the slowly-growing centres of art. Some early frescoes in the Gothic cloisters of Toledo Cathedral were probably the work of one of these nameless painters.

[1] There seems considerable uncertainty about the exact date when Dello was in Seville. Probably it was about 1404.

[2] An old rolled canvas was found in a chest at the Alcázar of Segovia, which was for long thought to be the work of Dello. But the subject is the battle of Higueruela, which did not take place until after the painter's death. Philip II. had this old picture copied for the Escorial.

They were executed by the command of Archbishop Tenorio of Toledo, about the year 1389, and are the first unquestioned Italian works that have survived in Spain. The Spaniards have cared little for their value, and the majority of these precious frescoes were effaced in 1775,[1] by the command of the barbaric Chapter, who ordered the spaces to be re-painted and covered with new and utterly inferior work.[2] Nothing can atone for this work of spoliation. Now, we have to gather our impressions of the frescoes from the records left by ancient writers,[3] and from the fragments of painting which still exist on the vaulting of the Capilla san Blas, a small side chapel leading from the cloisters. Groups of burning heretics figure as the subject of the paintings. Without doubt, the inspiration of the work was Italian. The compositions are distinctly Giottesque in style,[4] and whoever the author was, it is probable the frescoes were executed from the design of the Italian master. The work stands alone, among the early art of Spain, as the one clear instance of Italian painting wrought in the country before the fifteenth century.

The name of Juan Alfon must be mentioned here, although his retablo, which may still be viewed in Toledo Cathedral, was not painted until 1418. These pictures are among the earliest oil-paintings in Castile. They have a special interest from the intermingled Italian and Gothic manner that stamps the drawings.

Such is the chronicle of Spanish art during the nascent era of its growth. From these scanty survivals we can

[1] This act of wanton destruction is only one among many. The Spaniards value little these early works of art. They class them all as barbaric, and are always glad to replace them with modern works, however bad.

[2] The present frescoes are by Francisco Bayeu and Mariano Maella, two inferior painters of the eighteenth century.

[3] The best description of the frescoes is by Ortiz.

[4] This is the opinion of Carl Justi and all critics who have seen the frescoes.

gain little definite knowledge. Early Christian paintings exist in many of the local museums, and antique canvases are often found stored in churches and other venerable buildings; but no one knows their history, and it seems impossible to unravel the mystery that surrounds them. Yet a certain generalisation, conjectural, it is true, but not without significance, can be garnered from the fragments that remain. Thus, even at this early date, a marked dissimilarity separates the Italian from the Spanish work. The national painting is more rugged and less æsthetically delicate. It is without the Italian beauty, but it has more force. The early strivings of the Spanish painters are all vigorous. Both the sculptured figures and the painted forms are rendered with a distinct and individual touch, while the details are always specially accentuated. On an early tomb at Zamora there are some stone roses, where every petal is carefully formed. This characteristic always confronts us. From the little we know of these first Spanish paintings, it is possible to say that the work is strong and national.

CHAPTER III.

THE GOTHIC PERIOD OF SPANISH ART—THE FIFTEENTH AND EARLY PART OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURIES.

THE Gothic period of Spanish art lasted for more than a hundred years. It was an epoch of paramount artistic inspiration. Spain, just emerging from the thraldom of warfare, was prone to receive every new impression. Her artistic record was as yet in its infancy. The little she had already achieved sufficed to render her painters sensitive to the new spirit that was animating the country, during the early years of the fifteenth century. No longer was it the duty of every good Spaniard to devastate the Moors. A desire for luxury and æsthetic pleasure gradually replaced the stern vigour of warfare. King Juan II., of Castile, was a poet, and the friend of art and letters. "He was very free and gracious and gave himself much to the reading of philosophy and poetry. A lover of music and painting, he played, sang, and made verses, and also danced well."[1] This picture of the monarch symbols the æsthetic activity of the time. An anxiety regarding the things of the intellect, and a love of beauty for its artistic value, awoke in the minds of the people. A longing for a fuller existence animated the nation. It was the motive-spirit of this time of transition, when, at length, Spain was free from her long years of discord. Her sons were now ready for a larger and more cultured mode of living.

[1] An old Spanish chronicler, quoted by Mr. Watts in *Spain*, "The Story of the Nations Series."

It was during this century that Spain was brought into intimate connection with the Low Countries. The intermingling of the royal houses of Burgundy and Hapsburg united the Northern Provinces, first with Portugal, and afterwards with Spain.[1] The effect of this union was a great advancement in the artistic growth of the Spaniards. Flanders was at one end of the chief trans-European trade routes. The animating spirit of the fifteenth century was widespread in her cities. It was an impassioned age, in which all things pertaining to art were consecrated, until painting became a veritable religion. In general culture and æsthetic achievement, the progress of Flanders was only rivalled by that of Italy. Innumerable painters, of varying degrees of merit, worked in the Flemish towns, encouraged by the sympathetic atmosphere which existed around them. New forms of art arose, and the country was made rich with increasing artistic fulfilment. Artists rose to positions of high honour, and in 1428 Jan van Eyck accompanied Philip the Good of Burgundy, as his valet-de-chambre, when he came to Portugal to seek his wife Isabella, daughter of John I.

It is impossible to over-estimate the influence which centred around Van Eyck. After painting the portrait of Isabella, he visited Spain, and spent several months in the peninsula. It is probable that he went to the Alhambra to paint the portraits of the Catholic kings.

"As I can, not as I wish," was the motto of the great master: the words symbol his works of simple truth, they may also stand as the type of the early Flemish school. Painstaking truthfulness, glowing richness of colour, individual and exact representation of character, these were the distinctive features that marked the works of the early

[1] Philip the Good married Isabella of Portugal, and in 1496 Spain became united to the Netherland States by the marriage of Philip the Fair with Joanna, daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella.

Northern masters. These were the characteristics to appeal, with far-reaching power, to the Spanish artistic spirit. The Northern Gothic manner was in unison with the bent of the Spanish mind. This fact accounts for the magnitude of the domination which Flemish art exerted upon the Spanish schools; an influence which persisted until the sixteenth century was fairly advanced, and was so potent, that it stirred every factor of Spanish culture.

Gothic art was approved in high places. A Flemish painter, Maestro Rogel,[1] who was probably a pupil of Van Eyck, worked at the Court of Juan II., painting a portable altar-piece,[2] which was given by the King to the Carthusian Convent of Minaflores. As many as three Flemish artists were employed by Isabella la Catolica, and during the same reign, numerous pictures by the Northern masters were brought into Spain.[3]

These works of the Flemish masters, which were widely

[1] Some critics say this painter was the same as Roger of Bruges, but this fact does not seem established.

[2] Waager, in his *England*, speaks of this altar-piece as the travelling altar of Charles V.

[3] The Gallery of the Museo del Prado, at Madrid, still includes a fine collection of the works of the early Flemish and Dutch painters, although its importance has generally been exaggerated. The compositions ascribed to Van Eyck and Memling are not authentic, unless the "Fountain of Life" is the work of the great painter. The masterpiece of Roger van der Weyden is at Madrid. Of the three Crucifixions attributed to him, the one at the Escorial is genuine. The works of Van Bosch, who in Spain was called El Bosco, are so numerous, that it is commonly reported he lived in the country. A fine Crucifixion, by Dierick Bouts, hangs in the Capilla Real, at Granada. His other compositions are at Valencia and the surrounding places. Many Flemish altar-pieces still occupy their original position. The retablo at Marchena is by Juan Flandes; while the small, but beautiful, altar-panel of Bishop Fonesca, is by the Dutch painter Juan de Holanda. In Catalonia and the Balearic Isles are numerous paintings by Geraert David.

distributed over the Peninsula, familiarised the Spaniards with the art of the North. The local artists readily absorbed the influence of the Flemish masters, and the Northern Gothic manner was stamped upon the Spanish school.

It must not be thought that this ready adoption of the manner of an alien art denotes a corresponding loss of the marked racial characteristics of Spain. It was the peculiar genius of the Spanish race that they could imitate and absorb without degenerating into copyists. When accused by a brother painter of copying the masterpieces of other artists, Alonso Cano is reported to have answered, "Do the same, with the same effect that I do, and all the world will forgive you." What was true of the individual artist is likewise true of the national art. The virile character of Spain ever mingles with the Flemish influence, and the racial mark is never lost from her pictures. Even the canvases by Flemish artists are often filled with Hispano-Moresco types and costumes. Local peculiarities of dress and ornamentation are frequently introduced. In composition and treatment these Gothic pictures are Spanish in their essence. The saintly legends are represented with drastic vigour, and the Bible stories bear the stamp of individual rendering, while the handling exhibits a passionate force. This strength often results in a negation of beauty, a feature that is perhaps the most distinctive national trait.

In all the pictures of the Gothic period we find the long, lean figures, the sharply-defined outlines, the rich colours aided by gold, the intense feeling for decorative proportion, all the essential characteristics of the early Flemish school. But in addition to all this, we find something more, something that is Spanish and not Flemish. The Gothic pictures are the personal utterance of the people, they are not inferior imitations of the works of a foreign school.

Nowhere did the Gothic spirit manifest itself with greater vigour than in Seville, the great artistic focus of the school of Andalusia. We possess no record of the actual means that transmitted the Northern manner to the newly awakened artists of Southern Spain. If it is true that Van Eyck worked at the Alhambra, it is possible that he visited Seville, and some tradition of this fact still lingers in the city. Indeed, it is probable that many of the Flemish artists who were working in Spain would be drawn to the southern metropolis, attracted by the munificence of the Church, then in the fulness of her power. There can be no doubt that a quickened artistic instinct was vibrating in the very life of Seville. Such an atmosphere was bound to yield fruition, and it is among the Sevillian pictures that we find the most characteristic examples of Spanish Gothic art. For this reason the painters of Andalusia must stand first in the chronicle of Gothic workers, although, in actual date, they lived a few years later than artists in other schools, whose work is less typically representative than their own.

Among the earliest of the Hispano-Flemish painters was Juan Sanchez de Castro, the founder of the school of Andalusia. No details of his life have survived, except that he lived and worked in Seville, painting pictures for the cathedral and the churches from 1454 to 1516. The wreckage of time has spared his work, and we can still study both a fresco and panel painting executed by his hand. In San Julian, one of the oldest of the Sevillian churches, is a giant San Cristobal, painted in tempera upon the wall of the church, close to the principal entrance, bearing the signature of De Castro, and the date 1484. The value of the work is greatly diminished, for the canvas was repainted and almost ruined in 1775.[1] A

[1] For a condemnation of the manner in which the Spaniards clean repaint, and ruin their works of art, see Richard Ford's *Handbook*.

certain vigorous handling redeems the fresco from insignificance, but the colouring is modern, crude, and hard. These colossal representations of saints are frequent in Spanish churches.[1] They have little artistic merit; the enormous size of the figures subordinates all the remaining details of the composition, producing an effect of exaggeration and lack of proportion. There is a complete absence of the all-essential quality of charm.

Of greater value are De Castro's easel pictures. Unfortunately, they are very rare; many have disappeared, or, with strange neglect, have been allowed to moulder into dust. In 1878, a panel picture of the Virgin with St. Peter and St. Jerome, signed Sanchez de Castro, was found in San Julian, whence it was taken to the cathedral, where the canvas is now treasured. The painting is dirty and damaged, but it is still possible to judge the work. In every stroke the picture proclaims the debt De Castro owed to the Low Countries. The minute elaboration of the details, the hard, almost harsh, outlines, the free use of decorative gold, all bear the imprint of the Flemish school. We see in the picture the restrictions of primitive art. The figures are not men and women, but merely types. There is an almost total absence of modelling, the drawing is defective, and the painter has had a very imperfect understanding of the rendering of light and shade. The chief merit of the work is its sense of decorative proportion and the care with which it is painted.[2]

[1] The object of these figures was to teach the lesson of humility to the worshippers, when they entered the sacred building.

[2] Señor Gestoso, a writer upon Spanish art, mentions a badly-repaired panel of the Annunciation by Sanchez de Castro, in San Isidoro del Campo, the Convent of Santiponce. Sir W. Stirling-Maxwell mentions this picture as "formerly in the convent." Unfortunately, I have been unable to trace the canvas. At the convent they apparently know nothing about it.

At this time a painter called Pedro Sanchez probably lived in Seville. We know nothing of his life beyond the fact that his name is mentioned by Cean Bermudez among his list of the illustrious painters of Spain. A panel-painting of the "Entombment," clearly signed Pedro Sanchez, is guarded in the private collection of the late Señor Don Manuel López Cepero, a former dean of the city of Seville.[1] It is a picture of undoubted value, painted upon a panel of wood covered with canvas and carefully prepared plaster. The work breathes the charm of decorative proportion; it has that feeling for pure line that ennobles early Gothic art. Every detail is subordinated to the central idea. The grouping of the figures, the arrangement of the draperies, the disposal of the accessories, the scheme of colour, each one assists in symbolically expressing the main *motif* of grief. Note the purity of the figures, all of one type, seeking to portray the one idea. How conventional is the grief indicated by the drooping eyelids, falling tears, and set countenances of the women; how arbitrary the extreme length of the reclining figure of the Christ! Yet the work has gained by the very simplicity of its conception. Individual expression may have been sacrificed, but the result is one of subtle decorative unison. The picture is executed with a careful perfection of finish. No slovenly work was permitted in the Gothic craftsman. Every minute detail—the lamp and other objects, which rest beneath the tomb, the stone tracery of the coffin, the jewelled decorations of the robes—is painted with faithful care. The picture manifests in full degree the truthful spirit of Spanish-Gothic art.

A cloud of partial obscurity shadows the followers of

[1] I have heard from Don José López Cepero that the picture was bought by his father, the Dean, many years ago. There has never been any doubt as to its authenticity, and it is believed to be the only picture by Pedro Sanchez in existence.

El Enterramiento del Señor.

(*The Entombment of the Saviour.*)

BY PEDRO SANCHEZ.

Sanchez de Castro. Comparatively few names have been recorded, although many early pictures in Seville and the surrounding districts suggest his influence. His pupil, Juan Nuñez, lived during the later years of the fifteenth century, and is usually regarded as the second Sevillian painter. He closely imitated the manner of his master, and, like him, painted religious works for churches of the city. His finest picture is a "Piéta," which still hangs in the Cathedral. The dead body of the Christ rests, supported by the Virgin. Other figures are grouped around them; St. Michael and St. Vincent stand at the Virgin's side; beneath, ecclesiastics kneel and pray. The Flemish manner still prevails, and the Gothic stiffness of the Saviour's figure bears a strong resemblance to the work of Pedro Sanchez. The essential charm of the picture rests in the beauty of its tones. A colour impression of perfect harmony results from the varied hues of the draperies, whose folds are handled with a careful understanding of the effect of line.

The grotesque forms a strong element in mediæval art. In a small picture by Nuñez, the saints Michael and Gabriel are painted, adorned with gaily-coloured peacock's wings.[1] The religious attitude of the Gothic mind was one of marvellous simplicity, and there was no incongruity for them in the intermingling of the secular with the sacred. In their minds the two appeared as one. It was permitted to the Gothic artist to be humorous, and many incidents were possible in the compositions of primitive art that to-day would be wholly incongruous. Doubtless the early painters were bound by their own limitations; but their very ignorance gave them a certain licence in the choice and rendering of their subjects.

Greater than Sanchez or his pupil Nuñez was Alejo Fernandez, "the most conspicuous of Spanish Gothic

[1] In Seville Cathedral.

painters."[1] He was a native of the Moorish city of Córdova, where he worked for the Chapter of the cathedral, painting several altar-pieces illustrative of the life of Christ.[2] In 1508 he was summoned, with his brother Juan, to Seville, to work upon the newly-erected retablo for the high altar of the cathedral. The remainder of his life was passed working in the Andalusian city, where his pictures may still be seen. They are the most important existing instances of early Spanish art. Compared with the compositions of Sanchez and his fellow-workers, they bespeak advancing knowledge. More clearly than heretofore we perceive the growth of a distinctive Spanish style. The Northern manner is still in the ascendency, but the paintings of Fernandez are rendered with a vein of quiet dignity which makes them something more than a reproduction of the methods of the Flemish masters. While they retain the simplicity which characterises the Gothic pictures, they exhibit a dramatic force and an element of truthful seriousness verging towards gloom, two distinctive features of the Spanish school.

The most imposing of the painter's works is a series of pictures ordered by the Chapter in 1525 for the sacristía altar of the cathedral.[3] They illustrate the Birth, the Conception, and the Purification of the Virgin. The Bible legends are conceived with great simplicity, and throughout the grouping of the figures is quiet and yet strong. Great purity of line is revealed in much of the drawing, while an increased knowledge of perspective

[1] Lord Leighton.

[2] These works are all, unfortunately, destroyed.

[3] There appears to be some uncertainty with regard to the locality of these pictures, and many writers say they are now in the Palacio Arzobispal. The fact is they were removed from the cathedral to the palacio for some years during the repairing of the building, but they are now returned to their original positions in the sacristía altar.

and a finer appreciation of the qualities of light and shade betoken the advancement in the painter's work.

More beautiful than these compositions is a single picture of the Madonna and Child, known as the "Virgén de la Rosa," which still hangs in its first position on the trascore of the Church of Santa Ana, at Triana.[1] Lord Leighton speaks of the picture "as a work of very high order." A certain majesty of aspect lifts the conception above the ordinary. It is the most charming instance of Hispano-Gothic art. Mary embraces her Child, guarded by watchful angels. The work is deeply religious, with a marked yet subdued solemnity. Perhaps the greatest charm of the picture is realised by the value of its colour-scheme. All the varied hues of the Virgin's dress, the child's robe, the draperies of the angels, the many accessories, are blended with a rare and restrained carefulness. Each shade is rendered with a fuller understanding of the amount of light the colour reflects. The result is a splendour of tone which glows even in the inadequate light of the dimly-illumined church.

The influence which Fernandez exerted was widespread. We have no record of any immediate pupil who worked under his direction, but many of the unacknowledged altar-pieces of the period bear the unmistakable imprint of his direction. Such are the retablos in the churches of Marchena and Ecija, towns of slight importance in the district which lies between Seville and Córdova. The figures in these altar-pieces are conceived with distinct nobility, some of the holy women especially resemble the manner of Fernandez.

Meantime, the new artistic impulse was not confined to Seville; other centres of æsthetic growth arose, each one forming a fostering ground for the slowly-developing Spanish schools. In Andalusia the second home of art

[1] A suburb of Seville.

was Córdova, the city made beautiful by the architectural power of the Moors. Only one name has been recorded, Pedro de Córdoba, who, in 1475, painted a large Annunciation, surrounded with attendant saints, which still hangs in the Capilla del Santo Cristo of the Mezquita. The picture is distinctly Gothic. All the figures are drawn with considerable power, but the insufficient light and the deplorable condition of dirt and neglect renders it difficult fittingly to appraise the work.

Contemporary with the school of Andalusia arose the sister school of Castile. In its inception the interest centred around the city of Toledo, where all effort arose beneath the shelter of the Church, which for many years was the cherished guardian of the arts. Here, as elsewhere, the great ecclesiastical focus was the *point de réunion* for the artists.

Flemish art was not the sole influence which moulded the early artistic expression of Castile. It will be remembered that Italian frescoes decorated the cloisters of Toledo Cathedral. The effect of this work is manifest, and co-existing with the Northern domination we find distinct traces of the Italian sway. Many Castilian pictures show an intermingling of influences that at first sight bewilders, and often it is difficult to determine the exact source from which the inspiration has been drawn. It was not until the fifteenth century was fading to its close that an artist arose in Castile who can, with any justice, be included among the Gothic painters. By a strange anomaly Fernando Gallegos, a painter born in a school largely dominated by Italian expression, was more typically national than any artist of his day, Alejo Fernandez alone excepted. He has been called the Van Eyck of the Peninsula,[1] and he is always regarded as the Castile exponent of the Gothic manner. Cean

[1] Richard Ford, *Handbook of Spain.*

Bermudez records as his work all the paintings of the province that bear the Hispano-Flemish stamp. For this reason it is difficult to establish the authenticity of many of the canvases tentatively assigned to his name.

Gallegos was born at Salamanca in 1475. He worked in the city until the middle of the sixteenth century, and it is there that his pictures can best be studied. The cathedral contains various canvases that appear to be his work.[1] Three hang in the Capilla de San Antonio. The central canvas represents the Virgin as she tenderly hands a white rose to the infant Christ. Upon the right wall is a finely conceived San Cristobal, while a study of San Andrés occupies the wall-space upon the left. All the canvases are well preserved, and the pictures are powerful instances of the work of Gallegos. The Gothic instinct for truth and simplicity is manifested in every line, and the whole work is decorative, showing a fine appreciation of the necessity for limitation. It realises the charm and inherent beauty resulting from harmonious pictorial effect. The figure of the mother, as she hands the white flower to the Saviour Child, is akin in its mystic and yet human pathos to the work of the Cologne master, in his picture of the Holy Relationship.

A series of paintings[2] ornamenting an ancient retablo, in the Cathedral of Zamora,[3] are probably the work of Gallegos. It is impossible to assert his authorship as a

[1] It is impossible to pronounce with certainty as to which pictures in Salamanca and elsewhere are the work of Gallegos. In all probability these pictures are his work; they certainly harmonise with the other canvases attributed to his authorship.

[2] Richard Ford's *Handbook* mentions three pictures, by Gallegos, stored in the neglected Capilla del Colegio Viego, at Salamanca. The chapel is used as a lumber-room, and it seems impossible to obtain any definite information about the pictures. Mr. Ford praises a "Holy Family," in which the child John hands a flower to the Christ.

[3] An ancient town about forty-one miles from Salamanca.

certainty; all that can be assured is the likeness these compositions bear to his other pictures. If they were not painted by Gallegos they are certainly the work of an imitator of his style. The group of pictures[1] assigned to his name, in the Museo del Prado at Madrid, are inferior in power to his work at Salamanca. The series illustrate scenes in the life of John the Baptist. Perhaps the finest is the "Prophecy," where the figures are richly outlined in gold. Almost of equal interest is the "Beheadal of the Baptist," where the daughter of Herod is shown receiving the head of the saint. These pictures are decorative in style, and are painted with flat surfaces of primary colours. There are few shadows, while dark shades are rarely used. Each colour is painted without reference to the surrounding tints, gold is freely intermingled, and little notice is taken of the reflections of light. A certain sense of unreality is the resultant of this manner of representing colour, and the effect produced is one of pure ornament, having little relation to natural vision.

The early painters understood very little about tone, or the relation of one tint as it affects all others in the whole colour design. They were content with broad masses of colour, yielding simple results. Their work was essentially adapted to the scriptural subjects they were required to paint. The needs of early art were monkish, when the one supreme object of a picture was to beautify the church. A decorative simplicity harmonised with the tenor of Gothic art.

Valencia, the third great centre of Spanish painting, produced no artist during the Gothic period whose name has been recorded. Her school was already founded, early in the fourteenth century, and many ancient Gothic

[1] There is great uncertainty about the authorship of these works. In some respects they closely resemble the style of Gallegos, but they are without a certain charm that beautifies the other works ascribed to his name.

LA DECOLACIÓN DEL BAUTISTA.

(*The Beheadal of John the Baptist.*)

BY FERNANDO GALLEGOS.

paintings are still scattered throughout the province. But a cloud of mystery engulphs the names of these first workers, and it seems impossible to disentangle the early record of the school.[1] Many of these pictures possess a peculiar charm. They show a blending of the Northern influence with the tenderer manner of the South. In Valencia, in Castile, and in a few isolated cities the Italian influence slowly increased in power, and a distinctive style of painting arose closely allied to the manner of the early Tuscan and the old Cologne schools.[2] These pictures are easily identified. They are painted in light tempera colouring, and the figures are clothed in flowing draperies that conceal graceful figures full of motion and life. A certain delicacy in the conception severs the work from the vigorous rendering of the essentially Spanish pictures.

An artist who claims a place among the Gothic workers is the Catalan,[3] Luis de Dalmau. He lived during the first years of the fifteenth century, and chronologically is the earliest of the Hispano-Flemish painters. In some ways his work is unrivalled; but his pictures do not reveal the strong intermingling of the Spanish character and the Northern impulse with the same overwhelming

[1] Carl Justi, writing of these anonymous compositions, says: "Some of the paintings of the Virgin are akin to those of William of Cologne and Fra Angelico in their naïve and child-like charm."

[2] Several instances of this style of work may be found in the retablos of the older churches in the provinces. One or two good examples are preserved in the museums of Valencia and Palma; but, possibly, the best instance of this work is in the Cathedral of Manresa, the capital of the Province of Jacetani. It is a painted altar, of which the frontal alone has been preserved.

[3] The two small schools of Aragon and Catalonia are generally classed together. Aragon, as we have seen, had some very early workers, but, after Dalmau, neither school produced a great artist until the eighteenth century, when Aragon was the last home of Spanish painting.

force as the compositions of his brother painters, the exponents of the Gothic manner, in Andalusia and Castile. His master-work, the retablo of the old chapel, in the city hall of Barcelona, shows a remarkable duality of inspiration.[1] Mingled with the Northern authority are distinct traces of French influence. The picture is dated 1445, a period nearly co-existent with the work of the Van Eyck brothers. We see the five Consejers, or town-councillors, of Barcelona being presented to the Virgin by St. Eulalia and St. Andrew. The types in the pictures are Spanish, and the work is wrought in the Flemish manner. Yet interwoven with this powerful ascendency are certain subtleties of colour, and a special delicacy in the suggestion of many of the lines, very difficult to define, but distinctly visible upon a careful examination of the work, which point directly to the inspiration of France.

These echoes of a foreign style are of frequent occurrence in the pictures of Catalonia and the Northern Provinces, where the exigencies of trade and intercommunication brought the country into intimate relation with France. A curious series of frescoes in the cathedral cloisters of the northern town of Léon point very clearly to the ascendency of the French manner.[2] There is considerable uncertainty with regard to the authorship of these singular works. They were painted between the years 1464 and 1470, and there can be little doubt that they were wrought by a Spanish artist. If the inspiration is French, the execution is of Spain. Time has dealt roughly with the frescoes, and many of them are nothing but ghostly traces of intermingled

[1] Carl Justi, writing about Dalmau's picture, says: "In this work the oil technique, the forms, and even the actual singing angels of the famous Ghent altar-piece appear in a Catalonian guise."

[2] This opinion is held by Lord Leighton. See his Address to the Students of the Royal Academy.

figures.[1] "Our Lord with the Scribes and Pharisees," "The Last Supper," and "The Scourging of Christ" are the least dilapidated. In colour and certain peculiarities of outline they are strongly French, but they are executed with a rugged and original force which is entirely Spanish. No thought of beauty has directed the composition. The Bible narratives are related with a direct and almost brutal baldness that at once marks the frescoes as the work of a Spaniard. In the Sala Capitula adjoining the cloisters is a panel picture certainly painted by the same hand that executed the frescoes. The work bears the same peculiar mingling of French influence, with the vigour of the national manner.

Antonio Rincon[2] is often called the founder[3] of the Castilian school, and he is the earliest Spanish painter mentioned by the artist-historian Palomino. His pictures have not the same national vigour that marks the work of Fernando Gallegos. Tradition says that Rincon studied in Italy, but it is more probable that his strong Italian bias was acquired in Castile. For many years he was painter-in-ordinary to Ferdinand and Isabella, and most of his life was spent at Toledo, where he died in 1500. His work did nothing to enhance existing knowledge, and, to a certain extent, he abandoned the vigour and sincerity of Gothic art for an alien Italian mannerism. This, in a measure, stemmed the natural current of Castilian expression, turning the artistic impulse into new and affected channels.

Rincon's finest pictures decorate an antique Gothic retablo in the rocky and desolate village of Robledo de Chavela, two leagues distant from the Escorial. In the centre is the "Assumption," while ranged round it are other

[1] It was these frescoes I tried to photograph.

[2] Rincon was born at the small town of Guadalajara, about 1446.

[3] This opinion appears to be founded on the judgment of Palomino and Cean Bermudez. It is followed by most writers on Spanish art.

scenes from the life of the Virgin. The lines of the compositions are conceived with a kind of flowing sumptuousness, but it is impossible to form any estimate of the value of the colour, for the canvases have been heavily repainted. Cean Bermudez praises the pictures very highly.

The fine portraits of Ferdinand and Isabella, painted for the high altar of the Church of San Juan de los Reys at Toledo,[1] were destroyed during the devastation of the French wars. Supposed copies of these works are still guarded in the Royal Gallery of Madrid. The figure of Isabella is a work of exceeding interest. If these works are indeed the copy of Rincon's royal likenesses, then in portraiture, his art was truly national. The studies are individual and virile, decorative in effect, and marked with a strong racial accent.[2]

Rincon had several pupils, one of whom was his son, Fernando del Rincon. The group of young students worked at Toledo, executing various decorations for the Chapter of the cathedral. The record of their names still lingers, but their paintings possess small merit. They are degenerate exaggerations of the pictures of their master.

During the opening years of the sixteenth century Juan de Borgoña and Pedro Berreguete worked in Castile. They were painters of considerable power, who strongly felt the spell of the Italian impulse, and their pictures were potent in moulding the nation's culture.

[1] Some critics say the pictures were in San Juan de los Reys at Granada, but this appears to be an error.

[2] Sir William Stirling-Maxwell mentions two portraits in the Church of San Blas, at Valladolid, which he thinks may be copies of Rincon's portraits. He says, at the beginning of last century they were removed to the staircase of the chapel-house, where they were suffering from exposure to the air. I have not been able to learn anything about these pictures.

More than any artists of their day, they disseminated the Italian methods, until they rendered facile the importation of the pseudo-mannerism that became prevalent in the latter half of the century.

We first hear of Juan de Borgoña about the year 1500, when he was at work with Fernando Rincon and other artists, making beautiful, with delicate, sacred carvings, the jasper steps which lead to the Gothic retablo of Toledo Cathedral. In those vigorous days the arts were very nearly allied, and the painter gloried in being also the craftsman. The genius of Borgoña was speedily manifest, and in the year 1508 he was employed by Cardinal Ximenez to enrich the Sala Capitula, or winter chapter-house of the cathedral, with thirteen paintings,[1] portraying varied sacred themes. Eight of the compositions symbolise the life of the Virgin.[2] The finest is "The Nativity," where Santa Ana reclines in a richly-canopied couch; a young nurse, of tender charm, carries the babe to receive the mother's embrace. The scene is intimate, and yet the emotion is restrained. In its conception the picture is Italian, although the types are Spanish.

More national is the rendering of "El Júicio Finál," or The Last Judgment. Here we trace the racial impulse which at times prevails over the painter's Italian preference. The assemblage of the wicked is conceived with Spanish vigour, while the gathered crowd of the righteous has little individuality. Immediately beneath the figure of the Christ, a fiend is painted clothed in the semblance of a wild boar; with his horrid snout he worries a woman from her newly-formed grave. The trifling scene is depicted with realistic delight. In the Spanish mind there

[1] Unlike the majority of early Spanish paintings, these works have been well preserved; and, moreover, they have not been ruined by being repainted.

[2] Of the other pictures, three illustrate The Passion of Christ, and the last depicts The Presentation of the Chasuble to St. Ildefonso.

is no inherent love of mere delicate prettiness. Many of her painters have proved there is beauty in objects that, in themselves, are ugly. The Spanish mind is always dramatic, and the strong distinction from the figure of the Saviour to the distorted form of the beast-fiend appealed to the national imagination of Borgoña.

Judged as a whole, these mural pictures are an effort of the utmost moment in the record of Spanish painting. Executed in a clear and bright fresco-tone, the drawing is strong and yet broad. The compositions are adapted to the spaces they are required to fill, a decorative feeling for proportion directs the grouping of the figures, and the whole work is governed by a fine instinct for pictorial effect. In some of the paintings the landscape backgrounds alone would redeem the work from insignificance. They are painted with a richness of tone that makes the colour-scheme Italian in its aspect. The tints are warm, while a rich sunny hue often bathes the scene in a light approaching golden. It is here that the work of Borgoña departs furthest from the Gothic manner. His pictures are Spanish in feeling, but they are Italian in their colour and in their drawing.

Many of Borgoña's frescoes have been destroyed. A series of portraits of the primates of Toledo still exist in the Sala Capitula. They have no great merit, and only two are authentic likenesses. A very interesting series of pictures in the Prado Museo, entered in the catalogue as the work of an unknown painter, are in all probability by Borgoña. In design, colour, and treatment, these panels strongly resemble his religious compositions at Toledo. Carl Justi assigns these works to Borgoña. They are pictures of deep interest and very high merit. The finest depicts the Catholic Kings adoring the Virgin and her Son.

Many other works were executed by Borgoña. A series of frescoes, celebrating the campaign of Oran, were painted in 1514 by order of Cardinal Ximenez to com-

Los Reyes Católicos en oración ante la Virgen y su Divino Hijo.

(*The Catholic Kings adorning the Virgin and Infant Jesus.*)

BY JUAN DE BORGOÑA.

memorate his victories. The work is inferior in merit to the mural paintings of the Sala Capitula. The storming of Oran, which forms the central composition of the group, is the best. Here the figure arrangement is good, the lines are decorative, while the colour is harmonious.

In 1508 Borgoña executed a series of paintings for the retablo of the high altar in the cathedral at Avila. He was aided in this work by the Court-painter Pedro Berruguete, and by Santos Cruz, a painter of less mark. The pictures illustrate the Annunciation of the Virgin and the Adoration of the Kings, while studies of the Apostles are grouped around the central compositions.

Among these three workers[1] the most Italian touch is from the hand of Pedro Berruguete. We know little of the life of this painter, and the authenticity of the work ascribed to his name is a question of open controversy. In the closing years of the fifteenth century he was painting at Toledo. None of his works remain in that city, and the great monument to his power must be sought at Avila. In the ancient Church of Santo Tomás, in that town, is a retablo of remarkable interest decorated with paintings that tell the story of the life of St. Thomas Aquinas. In the centre rests the saint, surrounded by eight attending angels, upon the right and left hang canvases depicting scenes from his sacred history, while beneath are portraits of the four Latin Fathers of the Church. This masterpiece is one of a series of pictures that once enriched the Church of Santo Tomás. The remaining canvases are now in the Royal Gallery at Madrid. They illustrate scenes in the lives of St. Peter Martyr, Thomas Aquinas, and Domingo de Guzmán. There

[1] Carl Justi, writing of this retablo, says: "In fact, two hands besides his own (Borgoña's) are recognised in this important retablo —one, that of a follower of Pietro Perugino, the other that of a purely Castilian artist."

can be no doubt that the entire group of pictures were executed by the same hand,[1] and if they were not the work of the elder Berruguete,[2] it is difficult to account for their authorship. It seems incredible that among the few early artists of Spain no record has survived of a painter who crowns all the gifts of his fellow-workers. These canvases are the finest expression of the Italianised interpretation of Spanish art.[3] The union of the racial types of Spain, with a rendering that is almost wholly Italian, endows the paintings with a curious interest. Castilian figures are realised in a warmth of colour which is Venetian in its brilliant tints. The "Passage in the Life of Santo Domingo de Guzmán," "The Death of San Pedro Martír," and the magnificent canvas that shows an "Auto de Fe watched by Santo Domingo" are wondrous pictures of colour. Throughout the series the paintings glow with an opulence of tone which can be likened only to the paintings of Venice with their passionate comprehension of the value of colour. The pictures were painted by a Spaniard deeply imbued with the Italian spirit.

One work alone remains which is distinct among the instances of early Spanish art—the remarkable group of pictures, painted about the year 1460, on the ceiling of the Sala de Justicia in the Alhambra, at Granada. Executed during the Gothic period, these compositions cannot be classified with the Hispano-Flemish pictures, nor do they

[1] Lord Leighton and Don Pedro de Madrazo, the director of the Royal Gallery, assign the pictures to Pedro Berruguete. Other critics distinguish the work as "the paintings of the Master of the Altar of Santo Tomás." Carl Justi appears to think they may have been the work of Borgoña. This does not appear probable, as they are different from his other work in many important ways.

[2] Alonso Berruguete, the sculptor and painter, was the son of Pedro.

[3] Lord Leighton, speaking of these pictures, says they remind him roughly of the work of Carpaccio.

Pasaje de la vida de Santo Domingo de Guzmán.

(Scene in the Life of Santo Domingo de Guzmán.)

BY PEDRO BERRUGUETE.

harmonise in their conception with the paintings inspired by the art of Italy, although the rendering is distinctly Italian, roughly resembling the work of Taddeo Gaddi The chief interest of the pictures arises from their Moorish character. Moslem types predominate, and every scene, whether amorous or chivalrous, is interpreted from the Moresco standpoint. Very little is known of the origin of these curious old paintings. The complete understanding of Moorish and Spanish customs indicates a native authorship, and in all probability they are the work of a local master[1] steeped in the Italian manner. In the central alcove ten bearded Moslems[2] are seated in council; the figures are striking and life-like, while the background of gold and the bright tints of the garments give a vividly brilliant effect of colour. Upon the ceilings of the remaining alcoves Mohammedans and Christians are depicted in a bewildering variety of scene, against a deep blue background studded with stars of gold.[3] The left-hand scene represents a lion and boar hunt, undertaken by the Christians against the Moors. A striking incident depicts a knight presenting a dead boar to his liege-lady. The scene upon the right alcove is more difficult to decipher. In the chief group a Spaniard kills an Arab

[1] Carl Justi suggests they were painted by an unknown Valencian master. This seems probable on account of the Italian rendering and the diversity of the types and scenes. Richard Ford thinks the author was a Christian renegade. But the universal triumph of the Christians makes this improbable. There can be little doubt the work is Spanish.

[2] For long the figures were erroneously supposed to be portraits of the rulers of Granada. Their council has given the apartment its name of the Sala de Justicia.

[3] Mr. Owen Jones writes of these pictures: "Notwithstanding the want of perspective and knowledge of drawing, there is much spirit in the details, and the female figures especially are most graceful."

in triumph. The figures are clad in a strange medley of costume, sometimes the dress is Spanish and sometimes Moorish, while here and again an Italian garment is introduced with quaint incongruity. In every picture the royal shield of the Moor is somewhere seen. Both the materials and the execution of the pictures are primitive. They are painted upon skins which have been stretched and nailed on to the ceilings of white poplar wood. The colours are very bright, and are painted in flat tints, with the old albuminous colours mixed with the yolk of egg, while the edges are distinctly defined, being outlined in clear brown. All the work is decorative, and the drawing reveals a remarkable feeling for the beauty of harmonious line; indeed, an intense realisation of the value of ornament marks the entire series. Every accessory is introduced for its decorative power. Birds, rabbits, buildings, trees, and an endless variety of objects intermingle with the figures. Each one is painted in the manner of the old illuminated missals.

With these Moorish paintings we reach the final record of Spanish painting during the Gothic period. Here let us pause for a moment while we briefly epitomise the essential tendencies in this epoch of Flemish domination. It was a period of inception, when much of the work was, of necessity, tentative. The knowledge of the early Spanish masters was in many directions defective. They painted with primary colours, and had little appreciation of the value of atmospheric perspective, while their only method of representing form was by means of sharply cut outlines.[1] Yet it was a time of creative development—a period potent with possibility. Throughout the Gothic century Spanish painting showed a steadily progressive

[1] The only pictures that show fuller knowledge are the works ascribed to Berruguete, and some of the compositions of Borgoña; but these pictures cannot be called Gothic.

growth. Three great schools of painting arose. In each the Northern tendency governed the direction of the native genius; but in one centre only, the great school of Andalusia, did that influence remain unrivalled. In Valencia, in Catalonia, and yet more in Castile, a counter sway arose from France and Italy. This influence, seemingly beneficent in its birth, in reality checked the advancing development of her painters; for, while the Northern art harmonised with the Spanish spirit, the culture of Italy and France was hostile to its temper. The softened expression of the South was impossible to the rugged virility of Spain; and the inevitable result of such an outgrowth was the gradual degradation of her art into a forced and unpleasing mannerism.

CHAPTER IV.

THE IMPORTATION OF ITALIAN MANNERISM DURING THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

THE essential note in the artistic chronicle of Spain, during the sovereignty of Charles V. and Philip II., was the intimate union which bound her interests with those of Italy. In 1504 Naples had been conquered by Spain, and at the same time the Sicilies had become an appanage of the house of Aragon. A thriving trade communication arose among the rival cities of the two countries, which was specially intimate between the prosperous harbours of Barcelona and Genoa. The artistic impulse is curiously interbound with political and economic causes. Interchange of trade inevitably results in a corresponding interchange of culture. Spain, with her artistic life still in its first years of tentative effort, was destined to reflect the fuller growth of Italy. For the Italian ideal she renounced all that she had already achieved in art. The one object of her painters gradually became the imitation of the Italian manner. The Spanish imagination glittered with the glories of the Southern *quattrocentisti.* They were like children who throw away the simple garments adapted to their slowly developing life to clothe themselves in the rich dresses of a sumptuous growth. The fame of Michael Angelo and Raphael drew many Spaniards to Rome; there they were employed in painting frescoes, under the supervision of the wholesale decorators, like Vasari. In this way they learned the Italian tricks of manner, while comprehending nothing of the true Italian spirit. Italianised, they returned to Spain, proud of a superficial facility

whose baneful influence was the negation of all desire towards a truthful national expression.

The era of mannerism was hastened by the patronage of Charles V. and his son Philip II., who throughout their reign largely encouraged the introduction of foreign standards. The Emperor's motto, "Plus Ultra," betokens his attitude towards the arts. He studied sculpture, and erected many buildings, while painting was the art he most dearly loved. His friendship for Titian is a trite commonplace, used to illustrate the royal guardianship of talent. It amused the great ruler to be humble before his "prince of painters." With his own hands he helped to raise the table that the painter might place some necessary touches upon the upper portion of his canvas. "We must, all of us, bear up this grand man, to show that his art is empress of us all." Thus spake Charles V., and when blamed for his condescension, he laughingly vindicated his action with the well-known remark, "There are many princes; there is but one Titian." No one except the great Venetian was permitted to draw his portrait; the Emperor refused to sit to any other painter, offering as his reason that "thrice he had received immortality from the pencil of Titian."

The Venetian master never visited Spain, but his numerous paintings enriched the country's art. In the years to come they were potent in moulding the genius of many of Spain's greatest painters. But at this period the Hispano-Italian workers were steeped in affected mannerism. Early in the Emperor's reign, two Roman painters, Julio de Aquilés and Allesandro Mayner, were working at the Alhambra. They founded a school in Andalusia, thus invading the strongest centre of the Gothic development.[1]

[1] The special work of these painters was the introduction of the Italian method of fresco painting.

This Italian tendency was further strengthened by the policy of Philip II. The monarch had his father's love of the fine arts. It was the atoning light in a nature otherwise beclouded. He drew with considerable skill, and it was his delight to gather artists around his Court. For long he encouraged foreign art, exhibiting an almost prejudiced indifference to all native painting. Titian enjoyed the royal favour until his death in 1576. Castello el Bergamasco, an artist from Genoa, settled in Madrid, where he became the centre of a small artistic dynasty. A few years later he was joined by a compatriot, Francisco da Vianci, who brought with him a numerous company of unknown workers.

An artistic event, outweighing all others in magnitude and far-reaching effects, was the building of the Escorial in 1563. All the scattered impulses of the reign were now united and centralised towards one definite focus. The erection of the Escorial forms a new epoch in the annals of Spanish art. To render beautiful this building was the dearest object of Philip's life. He desired to enrich the entire mass of the huge structure with frescoes and altarpieces, and upon the accomplishment of this gigantic task he lavished the riches of his treasury. His agents were empowered to search throughout Europe, and artists came from Florence, Urbino, Bologna, Rome, Milan, and elsewhere. The Escorial formed a centre of artistic industry rivalled alone by the architectural enterprises of Italy.

It is impossible to refrain from contemplating what might have resulted had this new artistic impulse been directed to the fostering of Spain's native art. But the limited foresight of the House of Hapsburg prevented this great good. A numerous band of Italian artists were established in Castile, and the record of their residency occupies the later years of the sixteenth century. It is a somewhat dreary task to trace the work of these foreigners at the Escorial and elsewhere; for the most part their

painting rises little above the dull level of mediocrity. Many were rapid-working decorators, whose highest aim appears to have been the quick covering of unlimited wall-space. Their methods represent the manner of the second Florentine school of the sixteenth century. Themselves merely copyists of the great masters of their country, it is little wonder that a blight fell upon the artistic expression of the people, who became their imitators. The significance of these painters does not rest in their individual capacity, but in the power they exerted in transforming the standard of the nation's taste.

Romulo Cincinnato, a painter from Florence, was sent to Philip by the Spanish Ambassador in 1569, and was the first Italian decorator imported into Philip's Court. As a test of his power, he was instructed to paint an altar-piece for the Church of the Jesuits at Cuenca. The picture illustrates the Circumcision of Christ, and the canvas is now guarded in the Real Académia de Bellas Artes at Madrid. Cincinnato was soon joined by many of his countrymen, and Italian painters crowded the Spanish Court. Patricio Caxes, an artist from Arezzo, occupied many years in decorating the Prado, the royal palace of Charles V. Lucca Cambiaso, the head of the Genoese school, was specially invited by Philip, in 1583, to work in Spain.[1] He was at once sent to decorate the Escorial, where he executed a series of frescoes on the ceiling of the choir to illustrate the Glory of the Blessed in Heaven. He painted several altar-pieces, and prepared other frescoes, which ornament the main stairway of the building. With him came a numerous band of assistants. His son Orazio Cambiaso, and his pupil Lazzaro Tavarone, aided by Nicolao and Fabricio Castello, sons of the painter Bergamasco, painted the well-known frescoes of the battles of Higueruela and St.

[1] Cambiaso first painted a "Martyrdom of St. Laurence," which was sent to Spain for the King's verdict.

Quintin, which still ornament the Sala de las Batallas. All these works suffer from the haste with which they were executed. The Spaniards were filled with wonderment at the rapidity with which these foreigners worked. But the merit of their frescoes fell so much below the standard of expectation raised by their reputation in Italy, that it was commonly reported that an evil spell had fallen upon the strangers since they had come to work in a new land. Philip was dissatisfied with the result of his patronage, and employed all his royal power to induce Paolo Veronese to visit Spain and undertake the decoration of the Escorial. But the great Venetian refused to leave Italy, and instead, in 1585, came Frederico Zuccaro, a Venetian, whose inordinate vanity was only rivalled by his incapacity. His works at the Escorial were an entire failure. Philip stood and gazed at the completed frescoes in contemptuous silence. He made a trifling criticism upon some eggs carried in the basket of a peasant, then in utter disappointment he turned away. Zuccaro was paid the amount due to him, and was asked to leave the country. This failure of the much-belauded Venetian in a slight degree checked the king's enthusiasm for Italian workers. We now, for the first time, hear of native artists being employed to work at the Escorial. But the task of repainting Zuccaro's condemned frescoes was entrusted to Peregrino Pellegrini, usually called Tibaldi, an artist from Bologna, who had gained considerable renown in Rome. He was a student of Michael Angelo, but he had caught alone the devices of his master without any comprehension of his spirit. The result, clearly visible in his pictures, is a painful and grotesque distortion. His work affords a remarkable instance of the inevitable result when a feeble talent strives, by imitation, to rise to the plane of true inspiration. None of Tibaldi's frescoes at the Escorial are noteworthy; they are nothing but inferior copies of the Italian masterpieces.

Of somewhat higher merit are the works of Bartolommeo Carducci, a pupil of Zuccaro's, and one of the many Italians who travelled to Spain with their popular and over-estimated master. Among all the Italians who worked for Philip, Carducci stands first. His drawing is accurate and his colour harmonious; indeed, his work shows something of the style and charm of Andrea del Sarto. Unlike the greater number of his Spanish-working compatriots, he was a conscientious craftsman. He painted with the utmost care, touching and re-touching his canvases in the hope of attaining perfection. His compositions in the library of the Escorial are the most pleasing of the many frescoes which decorate the building. Three of his pictures are in the Prado Gallery at Madrid. "El Descendimiento," or The Descent from the Cross, is perhaps the finest. In "La Cena" the apostles sit gathered around the Christ. The figures are conceived with great power. The third picture is a study of San Sebastian.

To this band of Italian painters Spain owes the new tradition of art which now arose in her schools. Each master brought with him from Italy a motley crowd of painters. The younger brothers, sons, pupils, and retainers of these artists came and worked in the various centres of Spanish culture. For long these Italian settlers supplied the artistic needs of the country. They painted altar-pieces for the churches, and executed frescoes for the palaces. It was inevitable that the native art should echo the new and overpowering influence. Even during the Gothic period, the Italian tendency was not absent; but at that time it occurred only in isolated instances, for it was at variance with the prevailing current of the nation's utterance. Now, it became the one essential for all native art that it should be Italian in its expression, or perhaps it would be more truthful to say Italianised, for the Spanish artist rarely, and, indeed, perhaps never, com-

prehended the true essence of Italian art. The vast number of her painters were content to seize alone the tricks of the Italian manner. The Spaniards continued to work in the same style as the decorators of the Escorial—trick-painters rather than artists. With the exception of Carducci, the painters Philip had summoned to Spain fatally interpreted the Italian spirit to the undeveloped schools of Spain. Tintoretto, when he saw the frescoes of Lucca Cambiaso, remarked: "They might be of service to an experienced painter, but they would be enough to ruin the style of a beginner." Here we find one reason why Italian art retarded the development of the Spanish school. An affected mannerism was, of necessity, the final outgrowth from this pursuit of an ideal, untrue at its basic foundations.

But underlying this reason, which may be termed the technical or obvious explanation of the failure of Italianism in Spain, is a further reason, more subtle and more difficult to comprehend, whose mainspring rests in the essential character of the Spanish people. The deep gloom, the love of fact, the forceful power of dramatic intensity, the lack of a fine sensitiveness, the disregard for mere beauty, the incapacity for individual initiation, all these traits rendered the Spanish mind incapable of appreciating the fine subtleties of Italian art.

In Italy an epoch of supreme achievement had been attained. The unrivalled artistic creations wrought during these years were the outgrowth of that united movement which animated the very life of Italy in the early years of the fifteenth century—that intense inner longing for beautiful expression, which was the very essence of the Italian Renaissance. This spirit, with its almost sensuous realisation of beauty, its absolute joyousness, and its deep sensibility, was wholly unsuitable to a newly-awakened culture. The Southern achievement was too luscious, the development was too passionately, too delicately luxurious for the

Spanish nature to assimilate. From its very inception the Italian Renaissance came to Spain as an exotic growth. It arose from no impulse deep-seated in the hearts of the people; and for this cause, Hispano-Italian art became at last an affected mannerism, fatal to the truthful utterance of the nation's individual genius. Only those painters whose national virility prevented a blind following of approved customs were saved from artistic degradation.

In this respect the period of Italian influence stands in clear contrast with the Gothic era. Then, as we have seen, the directing artistic impulse was in harmony with the civic temperament. The simplicity, the directness, the reserve of the Northern art found a corresponding echo in the Spanish life. A hundred and fifty years of natural, and therefore progressive growth, were checked by the capricious taste of two royal princes. The strong Italian bias of Charles V. and Philip II. was all-powerful in establishing an Italian standard in the country. It is a potent instance of the fateful weakness of the Spanish character in submitting to the leadership of the Crown. Almost without an effort, the universal tendency was yielded to the individual inclination. Even in Andalusia, the strong centre of Gothic art, the Italian manner was adopted. The very Flemish artists who came to work in the country were borne away by the prevailing affectation. The Gothic traditions were forgotten, and much of the old simplicity was lost. It is true that this assimilation did not take place immediately. The work of the early Hispano-Italian painters retains unmistakable traces of the older methods, and for long the truthful directness of the Northern art mingled with the new Italianism. Individual expression was never entirely effaced, except in the work of the degraded Italian mannerists of the seventeenth century.

But the immediate result of this elevation of an Italian

standard was the negation of all that had, as yet, been achieved in the native schools. The main desire of the sixteenth-century painters in Spain was to metaphorically wipe the artistic slate. All that had been accomplished during the fifteenth century was repudiated as barbarous. The Gothic pictures were cast aside like an out-of-date garment. The fashion of culture became remodelled, and all art that was not Italian in its inspiration was looked upon as worthless by the Spaniards.

Illustrations of this blind misapprehension of the value of her early art may still be seen in many of the churches and galleries of Spain. Crowded into dark and neglected corners are many fifteenth-century pictures; unnamed, or rather mis-named, they are disdainfully classed among the pictures known as the "Escuela Flamenca." No Spaniard appears to regard them with interest, and any effort to unravel the mystery of their origin has, as yet, been unavailing. No one either knows or cares to know aught concerning these instances of early Spanish work. For the pictures, although allotted to the "Escuela Flamenca," bear the unmistakable imprint of Spanish creation. Without doubt many of them were painted by native workers, others must owe their origin to Flemish artists imbued with the Spanish spirit. There are several of these works in the Prado at Madrid, others may be seen in the museums of Seville and Valencia, while not a few still remain in the cathedrals and older churches, especially in the provinces of the north.

Before reviewing the new Italian era which now opened in the native schools, it may be well to pause for a moment to contrast the painting of Spain prior to its Italianisation with the contemporary art of Italy. It will perhaps be thought that such a comparison is little else than absurd. The achievement of Italy so greatly exceeds the empirical efforts of Spain that any parallel between the arts of the two countries may appear to be impossible.

Yet, granting to the full the existence of this disparity, there are, nevertheless, certain broad deductions to be garnered from such an analogy. These conclusions are of importance, because they emphasise those essential qualities which I would call *the expression of the true genius of Spain*,—qualities which dominated the early manifestation of her art, and finally triumphed over the affectation, engendered by the adoption of an unassimilated mannerism.

First, then, Italian art is incomparably more supple and varied in its expression. There is no parallel among the early Spanish artists of those strong contrasts which abound in the records of Italy.[1] Certain broad principles govern the entire manifestation of the national art of Spain. This variance in their artistic utterance is due to the distinctive circumstances which called the artistic life of the dual countries into existence. In Italy, as we have seen, the æsthetic awakening arose from within. Her art was the outward expression of an inner life pulsating in the heart of her people. It was the unaided outcome of the spirit of the nation. In Spain the case was far different: her new-born culture was superimposed from without; her earliest artistic impulse was the result of an overpowering alien influence. In the one case the universal instinct of the nation found a voice in varied forms of imaginative expression; in the other, the one acknowledged *motif* directed all efforts towards a single utterance. Here rests one further reason of the fuller manifestation and earlier development of the art of Italy. Not only did Spanish art suffer from the lack of versatility in her painting, but the loss of that subtle inward spirit of united culture left her the prey of each new incentive that pleased the *capriccio* of

[1] This point is very clearly illustrated by Lord Leighton, in his address to the Academy students.

the people. Yet there is a reverse side even to this evil. The very limitations of their art gave to the best of the Spanish painters a singleness of ambition and an intensity of purpose which is absent in the art of Italy. The one governing direction expressed itself by means of the national character. All the distinctive qualities of this virile race are represented in the finest of her pictures. While we find no touch of exquisiteness, none of that delicate, innate refinement which constitutes the charm of the Italian pictures, we are compensated by a certain gloomy passion, an overpowering central force, which animates every detail of the composition. This power, which we will call the key-note of naturalised Spanish art, manifests itself in a majestic glow of colour, a profound gravity of expression, a complete unity of conception rarely found in Italy, except in the work of the Venetians, who of all the Italians approach nearest to the Spanish ideal. Never among the national pictures of the Peninsula do we find any trace of *dilettante* grace. If the Spanish painting fails in beauty it is rarely wanting in strength.

CHAPTER V.

THE EARLY HISPANO-ITALIAN ARTISTS—THE SIXTEENTH AND EARLY SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES.

THE simplicity and directness of style inherent to Gothic art was still visible in the pictures executed during the opening years of the Italian influence. Flemish traits are rarely absent from the compositions of the early Hispano-Italian painters. Much of the work of the best masters is still distinctly national, the true Spanish genius breaks through the Italian mannerism, and at times the individual note triumphs over the foreign tendency. This power for personal expression—a power which the finest native painters never wholly lost—gives to these pictures their distinctive interest, and through the cloud of Italian affectation, we trace the record of growing power until link by link the chain is forged, which culminates in the great naturalistic painters of Spain.

The native worker who did most to hasten the flood-tide of Italianism was Alonso Berruguete, the son of Pedro, who was born at Valladolid, about the year 1480. Destined for the law, Alonso spent his youth in an attorney's office, but an intense passion for drawing animated the lad, and he was allowed to work in the studio of his father. From the first he was trained in Italian standards, and as soon as he had learned all that the old Spanish painter could teach him, he went to Italy and entered the studio of Michael Angelo. Berruguete was the first of the many Spanish crafts-men who combined the triple arts of painting, sculpture, and architecture. He is more noteworthy as a sculptor

than as a painter. The years he passed under the direction of the great Italian in a large measure moulded his future work. He was able to comprehend something of that wonderful capacity for the interpretation of form that constitutes the essential genius of Michael Angelo. In an infinitely lesser degree he shadows the power of the Italian. Berruguete often degenerated into affectation, and he carried his theories to the extremes of absurdity until his work often bears the impress of madness. But to some extent, at any rate, he realised the limitations which bind the sculptor in the presentment of form, and often we find an echo of Michael Angelo in his power of seizing and expressing a striking attitude, emphasising its intention by placing one posture in contraposition with another.[1] In his best compositions Berruguete adopts the Michael Angelesque method of suggestion. He indicates rather than defines, employing his powers to convey broad impressions, and caring little for unessential details.

In painting Berruguete appears to have taken Raphael for his inspiration, and as Carl Justi notices, "his pictures often show a strange and yet intelligent reproduction of Raphaelesque forms." A feeling for antiquity distinguished his work. The antique appealed to him rather than the natural, and this bias often brought him into the paths of affectation. He did much to develop the technique of painting, and brought the use of oils to a perfection hitherto unknown in Spain. In addition, he improved the inadequate draughtsmanship of the early artists, and introduced alterations in the proportions of the human figure. But his pictures miss the sincerity which distinguishes the work of the greatest of his forerunners. They are marred by a mannerism which at

[1] For an appreciation of Berruguete, see Miss Hannah Lynch's book on *Toledo* in "The Mediæval Towns Series."

times obliterates their truth. Berruguete is an expert exponent of the Italian manner, as it was expressed in Spain, rather than a native artist. He represents all that is best in the acquired art, he possesses little distinct individual merit.

The influence which Berruguete exercised was widespread. In 1520 he returned to Spain, when the reputation he had gained in Italy caused him to be one of the few Spaniards employed by Charles V. His position in the Court at Valladolid invested him with exceptional power. He stands unique among his contemporaries, the Spaniard whose work became typical of the manner of his period. He worked for the Emperor both at Granada and Madrid, which was now outrivalling Toledo as the Castilian centre for the arts. His finest paintings are in the retablo of San Benito, which forms the chief treasure of the Museo of Valladolid. The entire retablo was the work of Berruguete; he built, carved, and painted the altar-piece with his own hands. Six years were occupied in the work, which was begun in 1526, and not completed until 1532. The great power of the paintings rests in the vigorous handling of the figures, while their defects arise from the artist's failure to appreciate the true value of tone. The colour impression is one of leaden monotony. They are pictures executed by a sculptor rather than by a painter. Berruguete failed to realise that colour is the very essence of painting. Perhaps the finest of the compositions is "The Nativity," where the Virgin is seen in the foreground, while bands of kneeling angels are grouped behind. "The Flight into Egypt" is a strong conception, but the distinctive style of Berruguete is more clearly realised in one of the less important studies, where a woman and a sibyl are seen slowly approaching an aged man. The figures are painted against a background of gold, in strong contrasts of light and shade, which throw the three forms into vivid

relief. Here we note the Italian bias of the artist. The little scene is Michael Angelesque in its entire rendering.[1]

Following Berruguete, a company of painters arose in Castile who to a great extent were imitators of his manner. Many of them studied in Italy; all of them were imbued with the Italian spirit, and their combined influence still further strengthened the yoke of Italianism that was slowly undermining the local art.

Among this band of Spanish-Italian painters, Gaspar Becerra is conspicuous. His influence in forming the Italian taste of Castile was second only to that of Berruguete. He was born at Baeza, a small town in the kingdom of Jaen, in 1520, but he early went to Italy, where he worked under the leadership of Vasari, decorating in the Cancellería. He acquired considerable skill in anatomy, and furnished the plates for Valverde's *Anatomy*, printed in Rome in 1554. Shortly after 1556, Becerra returned to Spain, and became Court artist to Philip II. Like his predecessor Berruguete, Becerra was an architect and sculptor as well as a painter. It is as a sculptor that he is chiefly noteworthy, and his finest work is the retablo of the high altar in the cathedral at Astorga, a fine composition, ornamented with elaborate bas-reliefs illustrating the life of the Virgin. Few good specimens of Becerra's paintings have been preserved. The majority of his work were frescoes for the Prado Palace at Madrid, which were destroyed in the fire of 1734.[2] The Royal Gallery has a

[1] Other paintings by Berruguete are preserved at Palencia and Salamanca. The retablo in the chapel of the old Colegio de Santiago is nearly allied to his work in San Benito. The retablo was painted in 1529. It has been cruelly whitewashed and repainted. Only a small portion of the original colouring has escaped, and it is hopeless to try and estimate the work.

[2] Four of the Standish drawings in the Louvre are said to be by him, and some of his paintings may still be seen in the churches and convents of Saragossa and Valladolid.

study of the "Penitent Magdalene," brought from the convent of the Dominicans of Santa Cruz at Segovia. This canvas is a fair example of Becerra's power. In style his work possesses a certain dignity, and he has a happy knack of pleasing the eye; but this effect is achieved by a mere trick of manner, and his pictures are even more unnatural than the expression of Berruguete. He substituted the tendencies he had acquired from the Italian masters for the study of nature.

Among the lesser native painters who followed the tradition of Berruguete it will suffice to notice Hernando Yañez[1] and Diego Correa, two painters whose work denotes a close study of Raphael. Yañez worked in Spain in 1531. His pictures are very rare, but his master work still decorates an ancient retablo in the Cathedral of Cuenca.[2] In many ways the pictures suggest the work of Raphael, and the conception of the Mother and Child is rendered wholly in the spirit of the Italian. The pictures of Correa are collected in the Madrid Museum.[3] They are studies of Christ and the Virgin and of the Apostles and the Saints. The handling is vigorous, but a want of originality is visible in the conception of the figures. The whole spirit of Correa's work is Italian, and his pictures are poor imitations of Raphael and Perugino. We look in vain for any trace of the distinctive Spanish character.

Giovanni Spagnuolo,[4] called Juan de Españo, and Pedro Rubiales, were Spanish painters of considerable distinction in Rome. An Italian, Dr. Juan de Valverde, in his book on *Anatomy*, already referred to, classifies the

[1] Yañez has been identified with the Spaniard Fernando, named in the biography of Leonardo da Vinci.

[2] The pictures are ill-kept and blackened with smoke, but they have not been repainted.

[3] Some of the canvases bear the date of 1550.

[4] Vasari says of Giovanni Spagnuolo: "He coloured better than any of those whom Pietro (Perugino) left at his death."

ater painter with Michael Angelo. This is what he writes: "Michael Angelo the Florentine and Pedro Rubiales the Estremaduran, who by giving themselves to the study of anatomy, as well as painting, have come to be the most excellent and famous painters that our great times have seen."

But these men lived and died abroad, and their work belongs to the record of Italy and not to Spain.

The Chapter of the cathedral at Toledo was still munificent in its patronage of art, and during these years a small company of painters arose in the city who may be classified among the imitators of Berruguete. We need not linger over the work of the "hopelessly mannered"[1] Juan de Villoldo, who, in 1547, executed a series of forty-five pictures for the Church of San Andrés at Madrid. His pupil, Luis de Carbajal, who was born at Toledo in 1534, was a painter of somewhat greater merit; while with him worked Blas del Prado, the most noteworthy of this little band of Spanish-Italian workers. The two painters jointly executed an important series of frescoes for the Church of the Minims at Toledo. Blas del Prado also painted alone, and many of his canvases may still be seen in Toledo Cathedral. In 1593 he was sent to the Emperor of Morocco, to paint a portrait of his royal daughter, and upon his return he went to Madrid, where he worked at the Prado and elsewhere. His ablest picture is a study of the Virgin with the Infant Jesus and various saints, now in the Royal Gallery. The head of St. Joseph is specially good. It is a study of considerable power. A touch of individuality redeems the work of this painter, and at times he is something more than a copyist of Italian types. In some of his pictures we find traces of Spanish treatment. His Virgins are not all modelled upon the Italian masters, and here and there he introduces

[1] Carl Justi.

Ecce Homo.

BY LUIS DE MORALES.

a native figure. His picture in the Académia de Bellas Artes, at Madrid, has a Holy Mother, who is a Toledan maiden, differing wholly from the accepted standard. Of all Blas del Prado's works this is the least Italian. It clearly shows the painter's latent power for national expression.

Other painters of Toledo, such as Luis de Velasco, who, in 1581, was made painter to the Chapter of the cathedral, and Isaac de Helle, who succeeded him in 1568, are hardly worthy of notice. Indeed, the sole interest arising from the numerous company of feeble Italian copyists, who flooded Castile during the later half of the sixteenth century, rests in the fact that their work shows how surely the blind following of the Italian ideal was degrading Castilian art. The hopeless dulness, the utter lack of creative imagination, which characterises the work of the later mannerists, was already foreshadowed.

With relief we turn from these Italianised toilers to a native painter whose best work preserves its personal Spanish character; though, like all that was wrought in those years of misjudgment, it was touched with the universal bane. Luis de Morales, called in Spain "the Divine," was born at Badajos about the year 1509. The details of his career are scanty and contradictory. He spent his life in the wilds of Estremadura, with no teacher, unless maybe, some wandering artist who chanced to settle near his home. It is probable that for many years his talent developed with little external aid,[1] and his early work bears the impress of being the revelation of his individual mind. The stern solemnity of the Spanish religion finds utterance in his pictures. He loved to dwell upon the sorrows of the Christ, and he paints the Son fainting beneath the burden of the Cross.

[1] The supposition that he was trained by the Italianised Berruguete has little foundation. No trace of such an influence can be discovered in any of his early work.

His "Ecce Homo" may be said to symbolise grief. The Virgin was to him the Mater Dolorosa—a mother who realises the agony of divine sonship. Morales' work is wholly governed by the mediæval Spanish ideal. His sadness, his gloom, his morbid yet dramatic rendering of the scriptural story are the visible result of the prevalent religious atmosphere. It is impossible to comprehend his work unless we remember it was painted in a country where the religious conception was governed by the Inquisition.

Until he was past fifty Morales remained in Estremadura, painting altar-pieces for the churches and convents of the province. At length, in 1564, he was summoned to the Escorial, to work for Philip II.

It was the time when the Italian influence was supreme, and little notice was taken of the native painter. He completed one picture of "Christ going to Calvary," which Philip gave to the Jeronymite Convent at Madrid; then he returned to his native town, and for twenty more years worked in obscurity. His later compositions are marred by an unhappy mannerism, and the restrained simplicity of his early work is lost in a degraded affectation. His short stay at Court was entirely harmful to his genius, for his own failure in winning the royal approbation, doubtless, impelled him to work in the approved manner. The sorrows of the Christ were now depicted with an exaggerated conception of woe—theatrical, and yet devoid of all true dramatic power. His "Mater Dolorosa" became a distortion; in fact, many of his last pictures are hopeless and lamentable caricatures.

Morales laboured unknown and unrewarded. One incident mirrors for us the long years of unrequited toil. In the year 1581 Philip visited Badajoz and saw the disabled and tattered painter.

"You are very old, Morales," said the King.

"Yes, sire, and very poor," the painter answered with a certain bitterness.

The Treasurer was commanded to pay the needy artist a pension of two hundred ducats from the Crown rents of the city. "To serve for dinner, Morales," remarked the King, with the affability which at all times marked his intercourse with artists.

"And what about supper, sire?" interrupted the quick-witted Morales. Whereupon Philip good-humouredly added a further hundred ducats to the pension.

Five years later, in 1586, Morales died.

It is not easy to estimate the genius of this self-taught painter. Undoubtedly his greatest merit rests in the personal distinctiveness of his work. His compositions were at times exaggerated in their expression, many of them being stiff in drawing and monotonous in colour. Yet, in spite of these defects, a certain individuality characterises his work;—a personal note, maintained in the midst of an environment of affectation, and for this we can pardon much.

Morales finished his pictures with minute care; at times he even marred his countenances by the smoothness of the texture. A special feature of his work is his curious manner of painting hair. Each lock is rendered with painstaking veracity, every distinctive hair being treated separately. Morales here follows the Flemish methods, and it is possible that this elaboration of detail may point to his having received his training from a Flemish master, although the statement of Palomino, that he was the pupil of Campaña, is obviously false, as the Fleming did not arrive in Spain until 1548, when Morales had nearly reached his fortieth year.

Many fine pictures of Morales are scarcely known. They are hidden in unimportant churches in his native province. Sixteen compositions still decorate the high altar in the parish church of Arroyo del Puerco, a small

town in the plains of Estremadura. The pictures are dirty and neglected, but neither damp nor dust has obliterated the beauty of the initial work. The altar is arranged in four tiers, two above and two below, while each group contains two pairs of pictures. The compositions are all scriptural, scenes from the life of Christ being the favoured subjects. A "Descent from the Cross," "Christ Bound," "Christ in Purgatory," and a "Study of the Saviour with Joseph of Arimathea" are all fine conceptions. The entire series are deeply religious, and perhaps their literary idea is finer than their execution. Most of the figures are three-quarter studies, and a marked incorrectness weakens the drawing of the full-length postures. Here and there a canvas is spoiled by the stiffness of the forms, and in one or two of the scenes the colour is monotonous and heavy. A serene calm exalts many of the faces, and the conception of the Christ is always dignified.

There are six of Morales' works in the Royal Gallery at Madrid.[1] The "Ecce Homo" and "La Virgen de los Dolores" reveal the very spirit of the painter. They symbol the impulse of dramatic and gloomy asceticism that so often inspired Spanish mediæval painting. A conception of the Virgin embracing her Son is a companion study in tragic sorrow. Very different is the "Presentation of Christ in the Temple." It is a decorative composition, very beautiful, with a fine instinct for the harmony of line. The form of the Virgin has a swaying fulness of supple grace, while the long, straight lines of the lighted candles throw the figures into decorative relief. Light and shadow are very visible, and the colour is warm, although the flesh tints are modelled

[1] There is a picture by Morales in the National Gallery. It is a small study of the Virgin and Child. It is less strong than his pictures at Madrid.

to a dull brown; but in spite of this defect, the picture is one of the most beautiful studies conceived by Morales.[1]

During these years of Italian supremacy, the school of Andalusia was advancing in power beneath the fostering direction of the Church. The Italian bias was less dominant in these Southern provinces, which were removed from the all-powerful authority of the Crown; and for this reason the Italian following never gained in Seville the foothold which it secured in Castile, and the Sevillian artists retained a more vital individuality than their Castilian contemporaries. They were Spanish painters with an Italian tendency, not pseudo-Italian copyists. And yet the Italian influence in Andalusia must not be under-estimated. Its potency was realised for many years, and its direction can be traced in all the numerous pictures that were wrought in the province throughout the Italian period.

It will be remembered that early in the reign of the Emperor Charles V. two Roman painters, Julio de Aquilés and Alessandro Mayner, founded a school in Andalusia, introducing the Italian manner, especially in the painting of frescoes. About the same time a company of Flemish glass-painters, headed by the brothers Arnao and Carlos de Flandes, were summoned to Seville by the Chapter of the cathedral to complete the painting of the cathedral windows, which had been begun in 1504, by Cristobal Aleman, a wandering artist from Germany. These Flemish painters worked in the Italian manner,

[1] The other picture by Morales in the Prado is a study of the Saviour. There is a "Christ on the Cross" by the painter in the monastery of St. Catherine of Siena, at Evora, in Portugal. There were several of his compositions in the old Spanish collection in the Louvre, which gained high praise from contemporary critics.

and there is little doubt that they did much to develop the Italian aptitude.[1]

By a somewhat strange anomaly, the greatest of the Hispano-Italian artists in Andalusia was a native of the Low Countries. Pedro Campaña was born at Brussels in 1503. Possibly he may have studied under Van der Weyden, or Van Orley, but the majority of his training was received in Italy, for we know that in 1530 he went to Rome, and for nearly twenty years we hear of him working in that city. In 1548 he came to Seville, and remained there until six years before his death; then he returned to Brussels, where he died in 1580. He is ranked among the Spanish masters, and Seville contains many examples of his power. His work manifests his twofold training, and all his pictures bear the impress of a combined Flemish-Italian influence. The truthful accuracy of the Gothic workman was never lost in an Italian mannerism, and, indeed, the individuality of Campaña can hardly be too strongly emphasised. His work exerted a paramount influence upon the painters of a later day. It is not too much to say that his pictures express many of the distinctive and essential attributes which ennoble the work of the great national artists of Spain. Let us look at two of his works, "The Descent from the Cross" and "The Purification of the Virgin," both of which are now in the cathedral at Seville. "The Descent from the Cross" was the first picture Campaña painted after he came to Spain. It was executed for the church of Santa Cruz in 1548, where it hung until the devastation of the church during the War of Independence. General Soult, the French commander, bore the picture away, but finding it too large to conveniently carry into France, he wantonly broke the panel into five pieces, and then flung the fragments

[1] This is the opinion of Carl Justi. He thinks the glass-painters from the Netherlands, above all other influence, imposed the Italian manner upon the Sevillian school.

El Descendimiento del Señor.

(*The Descent from the Cross.*)

BY PEDRO CAMPAÑA.

into the courts of the Alcázar. There they lay, exposed to the destruction of the weather, until they were rescued by the Chapter of the cathedral in 1582, and tolerably restored by Joaquin Cortes.

This act of vandalism has, of necessity, destroyed much of the initial merit of the composition. Yet the truly majestic strength and overmastering realism of the work are still manifest. The picture impels the beholder with a strange fascination, and neither the hardness of the outline nor the darkness of the tones—both due in a large measure to the work of the restorer—can conceal the truthful sincerity with which Campaña has depicted the dead body of the Christ. All the figures are painted with intense realism. We can comprehend what it was in this picture which caused the artist-historian Pacheco to declare that he did not care to be left alone with it in the dimly-lighted chapel. It was the earliest work of importance, painted in the modern manner, and for long its power directed the artistic impulse in Seville. We are told that Murillo spent long hours in earnest contemplation of the picture, and once, when asked why he sat watching the canvas so intently, he is reported to have answered, "I am waiting until those men have brought the body of our Blessed Lord down the ladder."

The "Purification of the Virgin," painted for the Cathedral in 1553, shows the painter's Italian bias more strongly than the "Descedimiento." Here the outlines are softer, the tones warmer, while a certain elegant grace replaces the realism of the former work. The picture reveals a delicate charm, and all the figures are well conceived; they are grouped with fine understanding.[1]

[1] There are many additional works from the hand of Campaña in the churches of Seville and the district. One of the painter's pictures has found a place in the National Gallery. It is a small study of many figures, and represents Mary Magdalene led by Martha

The Flemish nationality of the painter is revealed by his skill in portraiture, and perhaps his greatest claim to distinction rests in his ability in this direction. Many of his portraits possess the wonderful quality of instantaneousness—that capacity for arresting and depicting the essential character of a face. His half-length presentments of the "Mariscal Don Pedro Cabellero and Family"[1] are individual and life-like; and it is this power of drawing the human face which gives force and personality to the painter's religious compositions.

Campaña's influence may be traced in the work of Luis de Vargas, a native painter, who lived in Seville from 1502-68. From his earliest years De Vargas devoted himself to art, and when still a youth he painted rough scenes on the *sarga*[2] curtains used for the church altars during the decorations of the *Santa Semana.* In his early manhood De Vargas went to Italy. For twenty-eight years he studied in Rome,[3] and the style of his painting seems to indicate that he worked in the school of Perino del Vaga, the favoured pupil of Raphael. De Vargas was intensely devotional by nature; his great desire was to use his power for the glory of God. It was his custom to partake of the Eucharist before he went to his work, and it is reported that he kept a coffin beside his bed to remind himself of the frailty of human life. And yet De Vargas was no cynic. A little incident, still told in Seville,

to hear the preaching of Christ. The canvas is not hung among the Spanish pictures, but among the works of the early Flemish school. The picture has not the force and power of Campaña's compositions in Seville.

[1] These pictures hang beside the "Purification" in Seville Cathedral.

[2] Sarga was a loose-textured cloth not unlike bunting; painting upon this surface gave great freedom of handling, and many of the religious artists of Spain owe much to this simple but effectual training.

[3] Carl Justi thinks he was probably one of Vasari's circle.

La Purificación de Nuestra Señora.

(The Purification of the Virgin.)

BY PEDRO CAMPAÑA.

reveals the humour of the man. One day a brother artist brought a newly-painted picture of the Crucifixion to his studio, hoping to receive the great painter's commendation. There was scant merit in the work, which was bad in its drawing and defective in its colour. De Vargas looked at the canvas; he saw that he was expected to give some criticism, and he at once remarked, "Our Saviour looks as if He were saying, 'Lord, forgive them; they know not what they do.'"

Shortly before 1555 De Vargas returned to Seville. Campaña had painted both his "Descent from the Cross" and his "Purification," and there can be little doubt that the work of the Fleming greatly magnetised the susceptive De Vargas. Like Campaña, he excels in portraiture, and a Flemish carefulness blends with his Italian freedom. Throughout his life De Vargas was supported by the munificence of the Chapter, and his earliest work was an altar-piece of "The Nativity," painted for the cathedral in 1555. The picture shows the Virgin standing with St. Joseph gazing upon the infant Christ. Numerous figures are grouped upon the right; each one bears a marked individuality, and yet each keeps its own place in the general design. All interest is centralised in the mother and her babe, and the composition is simple, but not without dignity. A gleam of glowing light rests upon the new-born Child. It touches the face of the Virgin, clearly defining the simple beauty of her countenance. A homely simplicity pervades the scene, and there is a suggestion of the *genre* picture, so dear to the Spanish painters of a later date, in the intimate rendering of many of the details. Here we perceive the influence of the Flemish Campaña. The peasant boy, kneeling in the foreground, as he offers his basket of young doves to the child Jesus, is painted with the force of the old Spanish masters; in fact, there is little trace of Italian degeneracy in any part of the composition. The Southern influence

is present, more especially in the forms of Mary and her Child, and in the flying cupids who hover in the clouds; but the picture is stamped with the personality of its author, and the Flemish method often masters the Italian tendency. The hound lying at the peasant's feet, the goat, the sheaf of corn, the Spanish pack-saddle, all the accessories are painted with the Gothic accuracy.

In 1561 De Vargas painted the picture generally considered his masterpiece, "La Generacion," or the Temporal Generation of our Lord, an allegorical composition, showing Adam and Eve as they adore the infant Christ, who rests in the arms of the Virgin. The picture is truly Italian. It recalls the work of Perin del Vaga, in his execution of the Raphael designs, on the vaulted ceiling of the Loggie, in the Vatican Palace. The allegory is interpreted with a simplicity that renders the symbolism intelligible. De Vargas never forgets the essential unity of action. But the work, of necessity, misses the charm and truth of "The Nativity."

The great value of the picture, from the historical standpoint, rests in the power of its drawing. No former artist of Andalusia shows the same mastery of draughtsmanship. In Spain the study of the nude was prohibited by the restrictions of the Church; thus the work of those artists who studied alone in their native land almost invariably reveals an inadequate knowledge of the human figure. The long years De Vargas passed in Italy saved him from this weakness, and his clever foreshortening of Adam's leg became a byword throughout Seville. It gave to the picture its popular name of "La Gamba" (the leg). We read that the Italian painter Perez de Alesio, who, in 1548, executed the giant San Cristóbal which decorates the southern portal of the cathedral, cried, in dissatisfaction when gazing upon his colossal handiwork, "The whole of my figure is of less merit than the leg of Adam."

La Generación de Jesús ("La Gamba").

(*The Generation of Jesus.*)

BY LUIS DE VARGAS.

As a colourist De Vargas is less noteworthy than as a draughtsman. Still, his values rarely offend, while his tones are often fresh and clean, and these merits largely compensate for the want of depth in some of his darker hues.[1] In handling drapery his power was great, and four studies in black and white of the Virgin and Christ, in the collection of Señor López Cepero,[2] well reveal his capacity. The folds of the draperies are broadly rendered; they are painted in a manner that intensifies, rather than conceals, the vitality of the figures.

In addition to numerous portraits, all of which are admirable for their truth, De Vargas painted many frescoes. In his own day his reputation largely rested upon these works, and Cean Bermudez speaks of them in terms of the highest praise. Now they are little more than time-spoilt relics.[3] Dim traces of them may be seen upon the Giralda Tower and upon the outer wall which encloses the Court of the Oranges, in Seville, but it is impossible to glean any idea of their former merit.

These two men, Pedro Campaña and Luis de Vargas, were the great exponents of early Italianism in Andalusia. It will be noted that their pictures differ essentially from those of their brother artists in Castile. Their work is more robust and more personal, for in some measure, at any rate, they assimilated the Italian manner without a corresponding loss of original expression. This gain was due to the isolation of the Southern Province, which freed its painters from the slavish fashions of the Court. Seville was not burdened with the crowd of mediocre foreigners whose example had cramped the

[1] This defect may probably be accounted for by the fact that both pictures have been repainted.

[2] The owner of "The Entombment," by Pedro Sanchez. See p. 32.

[3] The frescoes were painted upon a preparation of ochre of Castilleja, not in the manner of the Italian *buon fresco*, where the colours become an integrant part of the original plaster.

artistic life of Castile. The restrictions imposed upon the Sevillian painters arose from the limitations of the Church, and although this espionage[1] was often cramping, its effect at this time was not so vital as the misdirected patronage of the Crown. From its earliest development the Sevillian school nourished those elements which made it a fitting nursery for Spain's greatest artists.

Contemporary with these leaders of the Andalusian mannerists, worked a company of artists of lesser fame. The interest of their pictures rests in the evidence they afford of the increasing powers of the Sevillian school. Francisco Frutet, like Campaña, was a Flemish artist who had received an Italian training. He came to Seville about the year 1548. His finest picture is a large triptych now in Seville Museo. It is a work of considerable merit, the composition is good, and the colour-scheme is rich and harmonious. A curious intermingling of Flemish and Italian types occurs among the figures. The form of the Saviour recalls the conceptions of the Italian masters, while Simon of Cyrene, the bearer of the Cross, is closely allied to the Gothic models. Another foreigner who worked in Andalusia during this period was Hernando Esturmio or Sturmio, probably a native of Germany. His work is important, for it affords the earliest instance of the warm, deep brown tones peculiar to the school of Seville. The nine panel pictures he painted in 1554 can still be seen in the cathedral. They are studies of the evangelists and the favoured saints of the city, where the most important represents St. Gregory attending Mass. Antonio de Arfian, a native of Triana,[2] worked in the city during the century, painting in conjunction with his son, Alonso de Arfian, a series of noteworthy

[1] As an example of this restriction, we may cite the instance that De Vargas was commanded by the Chapter of the cathedral to drape the breast of Eve in "La Gamba."

[2] A suburb of Seville.

frescoes for the parish church of St. Mary Magdalene, now unfortunately destroyed. Alonso Vasquez and Juan Bautista Vasquez executed many works for the cathedral and the numerous churches of the city. The pictures of Alonso show a Flemish tendency, but few canvases of either artist remain. They both attained considerable skill, and their works are warmly praised by Cean Bermudez, Pacheco, and other early writers. These painters closely imitated the style of De Vargas. More individuality is revealed in the work of Pedro Villegas Marmolejo, an artist who lived in Seville from 1520 to 1597. His pictures are extremely rare, but the "Virgin visiting Elizabeth," which still hangs in the cathedral, is a good instance of his work, which well displays his charm as a colourist. The little study has great beauty, and the whole colour impression is one of radiant harmony.

Many more artists, both native and foreign, worked in Seville at this time. Their pictures possess little merit, while their slavish following of the accepted standards did much to hinder the individual development of the Andalusian school. As a rule, they exaggerated the faults of their masters; gradually they increased the tendency towards a false Italian mannerism.

Meanwhile, the painting of Córdova, the second artistic centre in Andalusia, was following a course similar to that of Seville. The Gothic manner was abandoned for the newer style of Italy. Pablo de Céspedes—painter, sculptor, architect, and poet—was the great exponent of the new impulse. He was born at Córdova in 1538. A scholar and a man of fine culture, his literary reputation was great, and his poem on the art of painting is among the richest examples of Castilian literature. He remained for many years in Italy, for an incautious remark made about one of the Spanish Inquisitors prevented his return to Spain until 1577, when

the Pope made him a canon of the Cathedral of Córdova. He gained a considerable reputation in Rome, helping the numerous bands of fresco-painters. He appears to have moulded his style upon the work of Correggio. An abundant love of movement, a disregard for pure beauty of form, an intense passion for foreshortening, a skilful use of chiaroscuro, producing perfect modelling by the peculiar play of light and shade—all these attributes of the Italian painter find their reflection in the pictures of Céspedes. Unfortunately his best works have either perished or are fast decaying. His famous "Last Supper" and two small studies of St. John and St. Andrew still hang in the Capilla San Pablo of the Mezquita. This picture, once renowned throughout Andalusia, is now utterly neglected, faded, and dirty; it is slowly falling into ruin. Albeit, the power of the work is manifest, the figures of the apostles are masterly, and a rugged vigour characterises every face. A certain monotony in the grouping injures the composition, but the separate forms are strong and individual. Throughout the work Céspedes has thought more of strength than of beauty. The foreshortening of some of the figures is striking, and the two disciples who sit in the foreground are drawn in attitudes of extreme difficulty. Fading tints, smoke, and dirt have well-nigh destroyed the colour of the picture. Cean Bermudez speaks with rapture of its "fine effects of light and shade"; he classifies Céspedes as "one of the best colourists of Spain," and says it was to his influence that the school of Andalusia owed "the fine tone of its flesh tints." The care with which Céspedes worked may be seen from the painting of the sacramental vessels which rest in the front of the picture. Córdova was famous for the skill of its silversmiths, and the chaste workings of the ewer and font are rendered with loving minuteness. Legend relates that certain friends of the painter who came to view the picture were so impressed

with the fine rendering of the accessories that they forgot to praise the composition; whereupon Céspedes turned to his attendant and remarked with quiet irony, "Andrés, rub me out those things, since after all my care and study, and amongst so many heads, figures, hands, and expressions, people are able to see nothing but these trivialities."

No picture by Céspedes is guarded in the Prado at Madrid. Seville has two of his compositions: a small panel, illustrating the Four Virtues, in the Sala Capitula of the cathedral, and a study of the Last Supper in the Museo. Like all Spanish painters, Céspedes' skill in portraiture was great, and he has left an excellent likeness of himself, painted with fine power. There still exist a few rare drawings by Céspedes, executed in red and black chalk, that are much valued for their excellent draughtsmanship. All his other works have disappeared or have been destroyed.

Céspedes had few successors. Italianism never flourished in Córdova, and the school produced no further painter of any merit prior to the opening of the naturalistic era.

It remains to trace the evolution of the Italian impulse in Valencia, a centre which, from this time, kept pace in artistic achievement with the schools of Andalusia and Castile. It will be remembered that the school of Valencia was largely influenced by the Italian manner from its very inception, and that all the early pictures of the province reveal a blending of the Southern manner with the sterner tendencies of the North. And for this reason Italianism was to a certain extent a natural growth in Valencia. The new manner was something more than a style, acquired by an artificial following of the prevailing fashion. Thus we find little trace of pseudo-Italian degradation among the Valencian artists. No bands of inferior fresco-painters misrepresented the art of Rome,

and the school was fortunate in its specimens of Italian work. In the fifteenth century, the great family of the Borgias brought many Italian pictures, of "the golden period" of Roman painting, to enrich their native province. These works[1] created a standard of taste that inspired all native workers.

The painters of Andalusia owed much to the assistance of the Church, even more than in the neighbouring school of Andalusia they worked under clerical protection. Thomas, Archbishop of Villanueva, known throughout Spain as "the Good," was the great friend of culture in Valencia. He impoverished himself by the patronage of the arts, expending his wealth in the encouragement of native work.

These facts assuredly account for the rapid evolution of the Valencian school. They also explain the fervid religious impulse which breathes in the compositions of the greater number of her artists.

The earliest painter whose name has survived is Pablo de San Leocadio.[2] Of him we possess scant knowledge, no details of his life remaining. His work contains a

[1] Many of these pictures remain in their original site. The large retablo of the Seo, at Valencia, contains a number of very beautiful panel paintings by Ferrando de Llanos and Ferrando de Almedina, a pupil of Leonardo da Vinci. The work is a fine example of Italian art, painted in the spirit of Da Vinci. The panels were painted, in 1506, for a member of the house of the Borgias. They once formed the doors to the high altar of the cathedral, and it is said that Philip IV. remarked, when gazing in wonder upon them, "The altar is of silver, but in truth the doors are of gold." Many other Leonardesque works are still to be seen in Valencia, and, in addition, there are paintings by Pinturicchio and varied followers of the Umbrian school. The Provincial Museo contains a "Virgin and Child" by Pinturicchio. One of the figures is said to be the portrait of the donor, Cardinal Rodrigo Borgia, afterwards Pope Alexander VI.

[2] Leocadio has been overlooked by many writers on Spanish art. He is highly praised by Carl Justi, who speaks of his deep culture and the nobility of his form.

distinctive charm, and there can be little doubt it was largely his influence which interpreted the Italian spirit to the native workers. Carl Justi calls him "the Juan de Borgoña of Valencia," and perhaps, even more than the Castilian, Leocadio assimilated the beauty of the Italian ideal. He is one of the few Spanish painters who adopted the Italian methods, without degenerating into conventional mannerism. One work of Leocadio's remains, the large retablo at Gandía,[1] a small town twenty-two miles distant from Valencia. The figures are conceived with Italian delicacy, and many of the faces have great nobility of expression. A second picture of Leocadio's, once at the orange-groved hamlet of Villa Real,[2] is now in ruins.[3]

In the year 1523 Vicente Juan Macip[4] was born in a tiny village among the Valencian hills. Somewhat erroneously termed the founder of the Valencian school, he assuredly was the first great exponent of its art. His merit has, at times, been over-estimated, but his work is of supreme historic interest. He is one of the national painters of Spain. To some extent his painting was imbued with the Italian ideal, and it is possible that he received his artistic training in Italy; but the Spanish personality of his work is rarely obscured. The intense religious solemnity, the decorous purity, the vigorous handling, the careful painting of details, the luminous warmth of colour, the lack of creative imagination, the disregard of beauty, the tendency to exaggeration, all the virtue and all the limitation of the painters of Spain are outlined in his work.

[1] The site of the ancient palace of the Borgias.

[2] A small place about thirty-nine miles from Valencia.

[3] Carl Justi mentions a retablo in the Cathedral of Segórbe, ornamented with a series of paintings by an unknown hand that strongly resemble the work of Leocadio. Possibly they may be by a pupil.

[4] More usually called Vicente Joanes or Juan de Juanes. Some writers give the painter's birth between 1505-07.

Of Joanes' life we have little knowledge.[1] He painted for the churches of his native province, and there is no record of his ever visiting the Court. Deep piety characterised his life, and he habitually communicated before he painted. No one can gaze upon his pictures without feeling they are the Spanish expression of mediæval religion. He delighted to paint the Christ, and many of his conceptions of the Saviour are ennobled with a rare dignity. His earliest work, "The Baptism of the Lord," still hangs in its original site over the *pila*, or font, of the cathedral at Valencia. Perhaps it is the highest presentment of the Christ we have received from the hand of Joanes. A favoured subject of the painter was the Lord dispensing the bread and wine at His Last Supper. The *Santo Calix*, or Holy Chalice of Valencia, has become identified with his work, and the beautiful cup of finest mediæval silver-work appears in many of his pictures.[2]

In the Prado at Madrid there is a fine "Last Supper" by Joanes. Christ sits with His disciples, the wafer is raised in His right hand, while the silver chalice rests upon the table. The picture is nobly conceived, and executed with great care. A landscape vista relieves the background; the tones are rich and warm, while many of the figures are strong and individual likenesses.

Joanes left many replicas of this composition. The celebrated "Christ with the Sacred Cup," once in the Chapel of the Franciscans, is now guarded in the Museo of Valencia, and other canvases illustrating this subject still

[1] Palomino tells us he was trained in the school of Raphael, who died in 1520, two years before the probable birth of the Spaniard. He adds that Joanes "surpassed his master"—an instance of the exaggeration and inaccuracy of the Spanish writers.

[2] The Spaniards believe this cup is the true relic from Christ's Last Supper.

LA ÚLTIMA CENA DEL SEÑOR.

(*The Last Supper.*)

BY JUAN DE JUANES.

hang in the churches of the province.[1] This continual repetition of his conceptions was one of the painter's faults. It is a weakness common to many of the Spanish artists. In a large measure this conventional sameness in rendering scriptural designs is accounted for by the Church's advocation of certain definite religious types. Continually we find sacred models specially connected with different centres of painting. The interpretation of the lives of Christ and the Virgin was rarely left to the imagination of the painter, while often the exact nature of these symbolical pictures was determined by some dream or divine inspiration. Thus "The Immaculate Conception," known as "La Purissima," was rendered by Joanes to accord with a dream, in which the Virgin appeared to Fray Martin de Alvaro, the Jesuit Confessor of Joanes. Tradition relates that the Virgin visited the father, clad in dark blue mantle and white robe, and with her feet resting upon a crescent moon. In this guise Joanes was commanded to paint her, and after long-continued failure and much penance and fasting he produced his great Conception, whereupon the Virgin, it is said, came to him and expressed her acceptation of his work. In this way the type became official, and Virgins robed in blue and white, standing upon the arc of the moon, are common throughout Spain.

It is by these paintings of Christ and the Virgin that Joanes is most widely known, yet his essential merit is more clearly revealed in a series of five pictures illustrating the life of San Estéban, painted for the church of the saint in Valencia, but now treasured in the Museo del Prado at Madrid. The first canvas shows the saint disputing with the chiefs in the synagogue; in the second

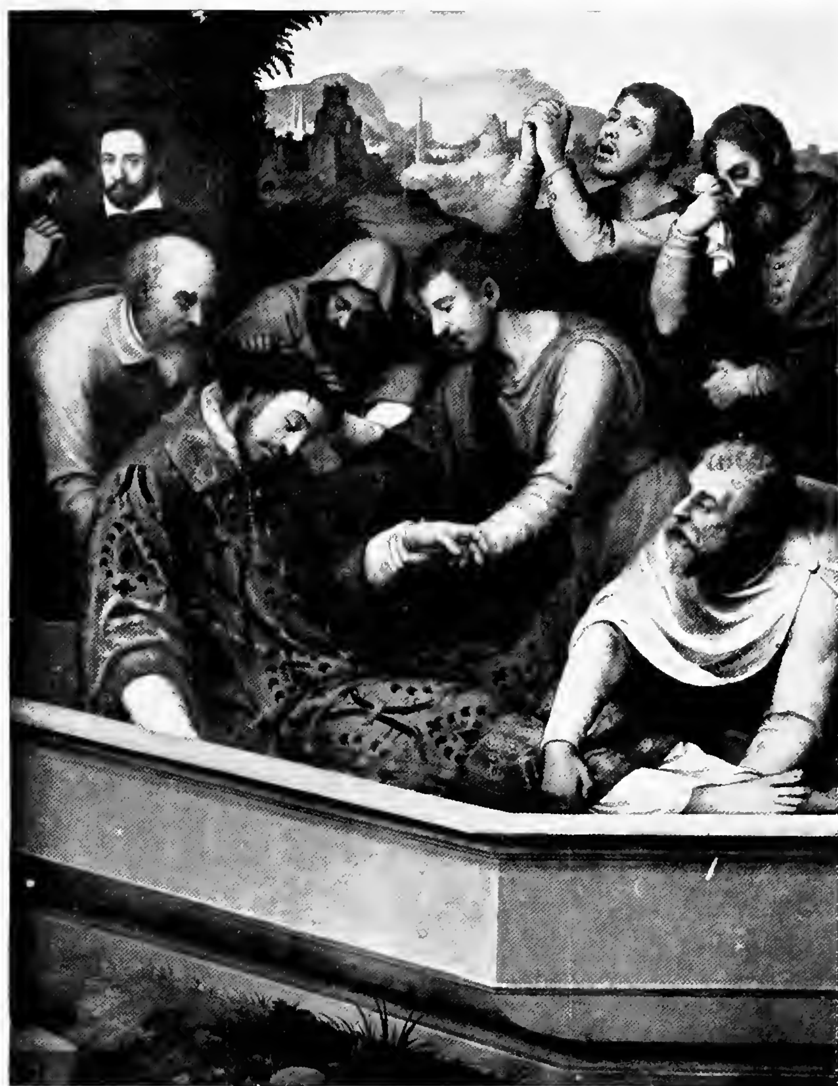
[1] There is a second representation of "The Last Supper," by Joanes, in the Royal Gallery; a noted canvas hangs in the Cathedral of Valencia; and there are further examples of the picture in the churches of San Juan, San Nicolas, and San Pedro, and in the Dominican Convent of Valencia.

we see him accused of blasphemy before the Jewish Council; while the remaining three depict the scenes of his execution and burial. In these works the personality of Joanes is abundantly portrayed. A marked gravity governs the composition, and the pictures are intensely serious. They reveal great dramatic force. Their fault consists in a slight tendency towards exaggeration, and in the sameness of many of the types, which interferes with the imaginative value of the work. But much can be forgiven for the sake of the fine colour of the pictures and the vigorous handling that invests the scenes with the intensity of life. We see St. Stephen standing in the synagogue, unmoved amidst the Jewish councillors; we look upon him as he advances to the scene of his martyrdom, his face ennobled by serene beauty, while St. Paul walks by his side, resolute with stern purpose. The scorn upon the Jewish faces, the maddened fury of the stoners, the vulgar interest of the crowd, the delight of a group of urchins, each is faithfully rendered. The presentment of the stoning might have been taken from many a Spanish street scene.

The picture of "The Entombment" is founded upon the text in the Acts of the Apostles, "And devout men carried Stephen to his burial, and made great lamentation over him."[1] Here the work is decorative and simple, while the careful execution of the saint's gorgeous vestments recalls the Gothic masters. The figures are well differentiated types, commonly seen in Valencia. A specially national face is the monk who places his hands in benediction upon St. Stephen. One of the most interesting incidents in the picture is the landscape that forms the background to the scene. The art of landscape-painting had been little developed in Spain, and the richness of the painter's scenic backgrounds constitute one of his most distinctive merits.[2]

[1] Chapter viii., verse 2.

[2] The strange figure clad in black, upon the left of the picture, is supposed to be a portrait of Joanes. This custom of introducing like-



ENTIERRO DE SAN ESTEBAN.

(*The Burial of St. Stephen.*)

BY JUAN DE JUANES.

Joanes was skilled in portraiture; he had great aptitude in delineating the human form, and his likenesses reveal the essential combination of veracity and charm. A portrait of Don Luis de Castelvi, in the Museo of Madrid, is full of character; the flesh painting is good, and the rich dress, ornamented with the jewelled Cross of Santiago, is carefully rendered.

Joanes painted many pictures.[1] He worked incessantly until his death in 1579. He left a son and two daughters, Dorotea and Margaret, who painted with their father. Joanes had many pupils, but their work rose little above the level of mediocrity. Nicolas Borras[2] most nearly imitated the manner of his master, but his colour is colder, while his execution is poor.

With Joanes we close the record of the early Hispano-Italian painters. In every school bands of artists worked whose record is of little moment.[3] Their existence proves the wide extent of the artistic impulse; but none the less was their work detrimental to any true development. With no talent, and often with very little dexterity, these inferior workers necessarily lowered the

nesses of living persons into scriptural composition was very common among the painters of the fifteenth century. It may be regarded as a prelude to portraiture.

[1] There are many other pictures by Joanes in Valencia. A "Holy Family" and several good portraits hang in the cathedral; an "Assumption," several studies of the Saviour, and a fine sketch of Francisco de Paula, a monk in a brown dress, leaning upon a staff, are all in the Museo, as well as other works. In the Prado at Madrid, besides the studies of San Esteban, the two "Last Suppers," and the portrait "Don Luis de Castelvi," are a "Visitation" and "Coronation of the Virgin," many studies of Christ, a "Martyrdom of Santa Inez," and other scenes in the lives of the saints and apostles.

[2] Borras lived from 1530 to 1610. Many of his pictures are in the Museo of Valencia.

[3] The small schools of Aragon and Catalonia produced no artist of any merit after Luis de Dalmau, until the eighteenth century.

standard of attainment; and especially was this the resultant at a time when the popular manner was in conflict with the inherent aptitude of the painters. It was not long before the mannerism of the great workers became affectation in the pictures of their imitators.

It may possibly be felt that an undue insistence has been laid upon the evil of the Italian inclination; but no other factor is of equal import in the annals of Spanish art, and until the seventeenth century few of her artists escaped from the blight of the Italian following. This is true in face of the growing power shown by the painters of the period. It was in spite of Italianism, and not because of it, that Spanish painting developed. The Spanish personality was never wholly submerged. In Andalusia especially, and in a lesser degree in Valencia and among the non-Court decorators of Castile, the native key-note was never silent; and the strength of the Spanish character saved the national art.

CHAPTER VI.

THE VENETIAN INFLUENCE UPON SPANISH ART—THE SIXTEENTH AND EARLY SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES.

AMONG the varied schools of Italy the Venetian was the most akin to the Spanish spirit, and many attributes of the painters of Venice find their echo in the essential qualities of the Spanish people. Their glowing realisation of colour, the nobility of their idea, their power in portraiture, their love of the "romantic genre," their vigorous chiaroscuro, the simplicity of their composition, the sedateness of their expression, all these endowments forcibly appealed to the native mind. But besides this affinity in manner and treatment, there is a more subtle reason which links the æsthetic expression of Venice with that of Spain. The Venetian school at its birth was closely interwoven with the ideals of Byzantian decorative art. This influence never left the great painters of Venice, and the decorative intention governs all their work. To the Venetian painters it was necessary, above all else, that a picture should be pictorial—that it should please the eye, be a unity of pure colour and line. This was the Alpha and Omega of their art; all else—subject, literary interest, every other idea—was of secondary moment. It was an instinct inherent to the school, a quality hardly comprehended by themselves, a rare understanding causing them to realise the radical necessity of pictorial effect in all works of art. It was this power in Venetian art which found its vibration among the painters of Spain, for, in a lesser ratio, the early Spanish school possessed this innate instinct for decorative expression. Thus, the

fundamental aptitude of the two schools was analogous. And for this reason, the Venetian influence was entirely free from those baneful effects of pseudo-mannerism which resulted from the degenerated artistic mimicry of the methods common to the Florentine and other Italian schools.

Titian has been called "Charles V.'s greatest service to Spain,"[1] and certainly the work of the Venetian painter was for long the mainspring directing one current of the nation's art. The Emperor's friendship for his favourite painter has already been mentioned. The Venetian frequently attended his regal friend at Augsburg and elsewhere, and although it seems improbable he ever visited Spain, many of his finest works were brought by the Emperor and his son Philip II. to decorate the Escorial and the Palace at Madrid. These pictures were the nucleus of the Spanish collection of Venetian paintings. There can be little doubt that the vitiating influence of Zuccaro and his bands of indifferent fresco-workers was in some measure mitigated by these master interpretations of Venetian art.[2]

The first native painter to translate the Venetian inspiration into the common heritage of Spanish art was

[1] Sir W. Stirling-Maxwell.

[2] The majority of these works are in the Prado Gallery at Madrid. One or two canvases still remain at the Escorial. There are forty-three pictures by Titian at Madrid, and among them are several of his greatest works. The portrait of the Emperor on horseback is one of the finest equestrian portraits in the world. The "Venus and Adonis," "La Gloria" (or the apotheosis of Charles V.), "Adam and Eve," "La Fecundidad" (or the worship of the Goddess of Fertility), and the numerous portraits of the Emperor and his son are all masterly compositions. Many works by Jac. Tintoretto, Paolo Veronese, and other masters were added to the Italian collection by the Emperor, by Philip II., and by their successors. Thus the Venetian collection of the Prado contains the most important treasures of Venetian art outside of Venice.

Juan Fernandez Navarrete, known as *El Mundo*, the dumb painter of Navarre. He was born in the small town of Logroño in 1526. Ague deprived him of speech before he had reached his third year, and the boy Fernandez learned to draw as other children learn to talk. His pencil was his intermedium between his own darkness and the world around him, and before long the sketches of the dumb child were the wonder of his native province. Fernandez spent his youth in the Monastery of Estrella, where his power of drawing was trained by Fray Vicente de Santo Domingo. Through the bounty of the monks of Estrella, Navarrete was enabled to visit Italy. He went to Florence, Rome, Naples, and Milan, and it is said that he worked in the studio of Titian at Venice; but a careful study of his work negatives this latter supposition. His early pictures do not reveal the influence of the great master of Venice; instead, they are distinctly mannered, bearing a marked likeness to the work of the conventional Italian copyists. It was not until El Mundo had seen the pictures of Titian in Spain that he became the interpreter of a newer and freer style.

Navarrete returned to the monastery of Estrella, where he at once painted for the brotherhood. But he was not long permitted to continue working beneath the shadow of the Church. Philip II. had become weary of the Italian fresco-painters, and was anxious to encourage native art. Don Luis Manrique, the Grand Almoner, had seen the work of the dumb painter in Rome, and through his suggestion Navarrete was invited to the Court in 1568. The painter was sent to work at the Escorial, where he drew some studies of the Prophets in black and white for the folding-doors of one of the high altars.

El Mundo's residence at the Escorial effected a change in his manner and execution. The pictures of Titian deeply impressed his imagination, and his admiration for the Venetian master was profound. We are told that Philip

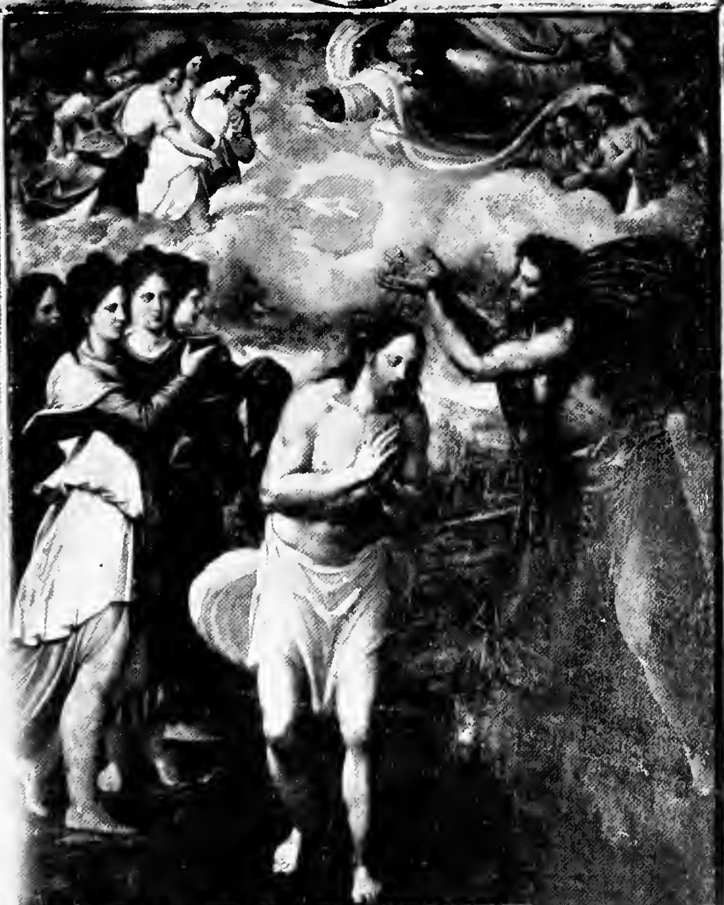
desired to cut the canvas of one of Titian's master-works in order that the picture might fit a required space. With signs El Mundo protested against the spoliation, promising to execute immediately a copy of the picture the required size. He even offered to forfeit his life if he failed to complete his work. Navarrete seems to have comprehended in full the essential spirit of the Venetian genius, and from this time he remodelled his style. The mannerism of his early work disappeared, and his power grew rapidly beneath an inspiration adapted to the radical bent of his mind.

As a test of his power, he was commanded to execute a composition of "The Baptism of Christ." The picture is now in the Prado at Madrid. It is a canvas of great interest, and both the conception and the handling reveal the Titianesque power of the painter. The Baptist, with his hands raised on high, pours water over the figure of the Christ, who stands in an attitude of great simplicity. In the heavens God the Father is revealed among the clouds, with bands of waiting angels. A sumptuous gladness is shown in the flowing lines of the figures. The picture is very decorative; the tones are warm and glowing, and the entire spirit is Venetian.

Upon the completion of the picture, Navarrete was at once made one of Philip's royal painters. But he did not remain at the Court; his health was feeble, and he craved permission to return to the quiet of his former life. Here his inspiration speedily found expression in a series of pictures painted for the monks of Estrella.[1]

In 1571 El Mundo was again summoned to Madrid, and before 1575 he had painted a "Nativity," "Christ at the

[1] He painted an "Assumption," a "Martyrdom," and a "Repentance" during this period. These works he brought with him to Madrid. It is reported that he was dissatisfied with the "Assumption," and wished to repaint it, but Philip would not permit the canvas to be touched.



El Bautismo de Cristo.

(*The Baptism of Christ.*)

BY NAVARRETE (EL MUNDO).

Column," a "Holy Family," and "St. John writing the Apocalypse."[1] Of these works, "The Nativity" is still at the Escorial. The power of the picture arises from the striking play of light and shade. A radiance issues from the body of the babe,[2] and with this central lustre mingle two conflicting lights—one from the glory shining above and one from a candle held by St. Joseph. In this glow of yellow warmth, fused around the form of the child Christ, all the varied tints of the picture are harmonised. It is reported that the Italian Tibaldi never saw this composition without exclaiming, "O geli belli pastori!"

El Mundo's power of draughtsmanship and the opulence of his colour raises his work to a higher level than the pictures of his many contemporaries, the pseudo-Italian mannerists. A "Holy Family," now in the collection of the King of Holland,[3] is praised for its glowing Venetian colour. Navarrete incurred the strictures of the Church for introducing a dog and a cat, snarling over a bone, into the foreground of this picture. Such levity was denounced by the Chapter, and the painter was directed for the future to refrain from painting either dogs or cats in any of his compositions.

This insertion of homely and intimate details into the foreground of their religious pictures was frequently practised by the painters of the sixteenth century. The custom was specially common among the Venetians, the first *genre* painters. These secular interludes mark a pristine effort to escape from the thraldom of religious representation. They are the *avant-coureur* of the modern *genre*

[1] This picture, an "Assumption," and several other canvases by El Mundo were burned in the fire of 1734.

[2] In accordance with an old legend which tells of light radiating from the babe Christ.

[3] This is the place where Sir W. Stirling-Maxwell says the picture is.

picture. The strict prudery of the Church bound the Spanish painter with special force. A portrait was the one secular picture permitted in Spain; and for long these domestic trivialities of daily living were the only profane paintings possible to her artists. We find them with increasing frequency as the century advances, when religious gloom became less cogent. It was in this way that the dramatic humour of the Spanish painters found its utterance.

In the year 1576 El Mundo completed his most celebrated composition of "Abraham receiving the Three Angels." Once the picture hung in the entrance-hall of the Escorial, where "it was without rival among all native pictures;" but the canvas was plundered by the French and carried from Spain during the War of Independence.[1] The Spanish writers recount the glory of the work. The patriarch stands beneath the leafy branches of a tree, bowing to the earth as he greets his sacred visitants. The light, reflected from above, falls upon the three figures, and then strikes the bent form of Abraham, bathing him in a golden warmth of colour. Sarah stands in the background, her figure somewhat hidden by the tent-door. The striking effect of the light centralises the interest of the composition, and no secondary motive mars the unity of the work. El Mundo realised the pictorial essence of Venetian painting. His colour never offends, and a decorative harmony at all times governs his tones. In his pictures he closely repeats the mode of colouring distinctive to the school of Venice—that manner of flooding a work in a rich glow of yellow light.

The side altars of the Escorial needed adornment, and in 1576 El Mundo was commissioned to execute thirty-two pictures of the saints and apostles. The painter had again

[1] Sir Edmond Head says the picture is in the collection of the Duke of Dalmatia. This was only one of numerous pictures that were carried away by the French.

El Apóstol San Pedro y el Apóstol San Pablo.

(*The Apostle St. Peter and the Apostle St. Paul.*)

BY NAVARRETE (EL MUNDO).

offended the Church by presenting the angels with beards in his picture of "Abraham," and the strictest charges were now given him that no indecorous levity must be shown in this new work. Here is a copy of his contract with the fathers of the Escorial:—"Whenever the figure of a saint is repeated by painting it several times, the face shall be represented in the same manner, and likewise the garments shall be of the same colour; and if any saint has a portrait which is peculiar to him, he shall be painted according to such portrait, which shall be sought out with diligence, wherever it may be; and in the aforesaid picture the artist shall not introduce any cat or dog or other unbecoming figure, but all shall be saints, and such things as incite to devotion." El Mundo did not live to discharge this task. His health was always feeble, and it grew rapidly worse. Eight of the canvases were finished when he died at Toledo in 1579.[1]

A quiet dignity governs the conception of these full-length studies of the Apostles. The power of the figures rests in their absolute simplicity. Look at St. Peter and St. Paul:[2] they stand, the one with his keys and the other leaning upon his staff—the pose of the figures is very simple, while the faces are veritable studies of men rather than pictures of saints. A slight landscape that forms the background, indicated in tints of blue, lightens the effect without weakening the strength of the figures. Rich masses of deep warm tints gleam in the draperies, and throughout the colour-scheme is good.

The dumb painter was greatly esteemed, and Lope de Vega, the Spanish dramatist, thus eulogises his work:

[1] Many of the pictures were completed by Luis de Carbajal, a painter of Toledo, born in 1534. He closely imitated the manner of Navarette.

[2] Two studies of St. Peter and St. Paul, painted prior to the large canvases in the Escorial, are in the Museo del Prado. The illustration is from these sketches.

"Speech heaven denied him, whose dumbness threw
A deeper sense and charm o'er all he drew;
And, mute himself, his breathing pencil lent
Canvas a voice, than mine more eloquent."

The historical significance of El Mundo's work is great. He freed his painting from the conventionality of his century, and his pictures, for the first time, reveal a distinct secular bias. His work is not intrinsically Spanish, and he is hardly as national in style as the greatest of the contemporary mannerists, yet his influence is of moment. He was the earliest comprehender of the Venetian manner, and his ensample did much to arrest the degradation of the native art.

The opening of the seventeenth century was a time of ample fruition in Andalusia. Seville, the *sanctum sanctorum* of art, was approaching the culmination of her achievement. Numerous bands of painters worked in her schools, and the throbbing of the artistic pulse was a vital factor in the life of the city.

The interpreter of Venetianism in Seville was Juan de las Roelas, commonly called "The Cleric." He was born at Seville about the year 1558. Few facts of his early life have survived. It seems probable that he received his training in Italy, and both his colour and his method of drawing indicate a knowledge of the Venetian masters. Many of his pictures suggest the inspiration of Tintoretto. He delighted in strong shadow reliefs, and these effects mingle with his warm Venetian colouring. Strong and tragic subjects appealed pre-eminently to Roelas. His work is very uneven, and at times he fails to fully realise his conceptions; but his best pictures have something of the swift intuition and dramatic inspiration of Tintoretto's master-creations.

In the year 1616 Roelas was an unsuccessful applicant

for the post of Court artist to Philip III.[1] The King was the patron of art, like all the Hapsburg sovereigns, but he had not inherited the fine taste of his father and grandsire. Roelas remained at Madrid for a short period, painting for the churches of the capital. He then returned to Seville, where he lived until 1624, when he was presented with a prebendal stall in the church at Oliváres, a small village a few leagues distant from the southern city. Here the Cleric lived until his death in 1625. The church of the little town still contains the five pictures he painted in 1624, just prior to his death.[2] They are the poorest of his works, and their present condition of dirt and neglect still further detracts from their value.

All the great compositions of Roelas are at Seville.[3] He is little known beyond the boundary of Andalusia,[4] while his very identity is hardly realised except in Spain. His noblest conception is "El Transito de San Isidoro," still in its first site in the parish church of the saint. The scene depicted is the transit of Isidoro. The saint rests upon the ground of the church, that forms the setting of the picture, his body wrapped in a dark mantle and robes of ecclesiastical richness. A band of venerable priests are grouped around him, and the dying form rests

[1] The post was given to Bartolomé Gonzalez, an inferior painter of Castile.

[2] The pictures illustrate the Birth of Christ, the Adoration, Annunciation, and Marriage of the Virgin, and the Death of St. Joseph.

[3] There is only one picture by Roelas in the Royal Gallery: "Moses striking the Rock." The picture was painted for San Ildefonso, and comes from the collection of Isabel Farnesio.

[4] Carl Justi comments upon this fact. He writes of Roelas: "His pictures contain the death-sentence of that pretentious mannerism which affected to look down upon life, colour, and chiaroscuro."

The fact that Roelas is so little known and so little appreciated renders it extremely difficult to obtain any reproductions of his pictures.

supported in their arms. Twin choir-boys kneel near by, and the charm of their childhood's beauty intensifies the strong countenances of the aged fathers. Groups of sorrowing figures kneel in the receding aisles of the church, but their forms are shadowy and non-insistent. A true artistic unity is maintained, and all interest is centralised upon the one motive of the saint's transit.

A secondary conception is painted above this scene, where the Virgin and Christ are depicted in the heavens, amidst a blaze of glowing light, waiting to crown the martyred Isidoro. The symphony of the lower inspiration is injured by this addition. These heavenly scenes are common in all mediæval pictures; in Spain they were always painted, where the drama symbolised the release of a tutelary saint. Almost invariably these heavenly supplements are inferior to the central composition; while the introduction of a dual interest tends to weaken the primary purpose. The Spanish genius is feeblest when striving to express these added celestial scenes, and often the sacred idyls lapse into the commonplace, the feeble, or the ludicrous.

Seville Museo has two works by Roelas, "El Martirio de San Andrès" and "Santa Ana y la Virgen." The "Martyrdom" is a large composition, somewhat crowded with the numberless figures. In the centre is the nude form of the saint, closely bound to a Latin cross; upon the right stand a company of soldiers and ill-conditioned men, while on the left three captains of the guard dispute over the division of the martyr's abandoned clothing. One seizes his corselet of burnished steel damaskeened with gold, another covers his head with a gorgeous turban, while the third waves aloft a banner of gorgeous silk. In the foreground beneath the cross, a hangman, aided by an evil-looking youth, hastens with the ladder to be used for the removal of the body. Spectators crowd the canvas, they fill the landscape, they climb upon the buildings

depicted in the background. In the clouds hover a company of cherub-boys bearing crowns of flowers, and with them are a band of heavenly musicians guarding a beautiful Virgin, who waits to receive the martyr.

The picture suffers from a want of unity in the distribution of the interest. There is no oneness of purpose fusing the many details, and both the lines of the composition and the distribution of the masses of colour are often conflicting, while many of the figures appear to have been introduced for no reason, except to exhibit the skilful drawing of their forms. In parts the work is dignified. The conception of St. Andrew is individual and powerful, the face of the Virgin has great beauty, and many of the heads are realistic portraits; but the work fails as an entirety, and not even the glow of Venetian colour can atone for its insufficient rest and want of decorative harmony.

A story told with regard to the painting of the picture in some measure explains its deficiency. The composition was executed for the Church of the Flemings in the College of St. Thomas. The time had arrived for the canvas to be delivered, but the painting was still unfinished, when, with dashing haste, Roelas completed the work. On this account the authorities desired to withhold a hundred ducats from the price arranged. Roelas demanded the initial amount, and at length the canvas was sent to Flanders for arbitration. The painter's triumph was complete, for the judges valued the picture at a hundred ducats above the stipulated sum. And this amount Roelas relentlessly forced the college officials to pay. In this incident we glean an insight into the character of the painter—careless, working with undue impetuosity, but strong and resolute, and relentless in obtaining a desire. Roelas was a man well fitted to be the pioneer of a new manner of painting. Yet the painter was not without tenderness. His picture of "Santa Ana

teaching the Virgin to Read" is very beautiful; it is the sweetest and simplest of his many compositions. Santa Ana rests in a richly-draped chair, while the young Mary kneels by her side, with an open book in her hand, as she reads the words to her mother. The flesh-tints glow with a rich warmth, and a slight weakness in the drawing of the hands alone detracts from the charm of the work. This picture was not popular in Seville, for the homeliness of the scene offended the Church, and Pacheco comments upon the indecorum of the subject, in his *Arte de la Pintura*. The mother of Christ is immaculate: how then was it needful for her to learn the art of reading? asks the Familiar of the Inquisition.

In 1609 Roelas executed a large study of "Santiago destroying the Moors in the Battle of Clavigo" for the Chapter of Seville Cathedral. King James rides in fury over the writhing bodies of the slaughtered Moors. The picture reiterates the defects of the "San Andrés," but the figures are fine samples of the painter's skilful draughtsmanship, while the colour is warm and harmonious.

Seville contains many further canvases painted by the Cleric, and there are few churches that do not possess some instance of his work. A beautiful "Holy Child," and good studies of "The Adoration of the Kings" and the "Presentation of the Boy Christ in the Temple," are treasured in the University. In the Church of San Pedro, hidden in a side chapel, is a fine composition of "St. Peter freed by the Angel."[1] In the Church of the Hospital de la Sangre are two pictures of great power, "The Apotheosis of St. Hermengild" and "The Descent of the Holy Ghost."[2] These works are little known, and

[1] Carl Justi compares this picture to the work of Gerard van Honthorst.

[2] Cean Bermudez classifies this picture as the work of Herrera el Viejo. This mistake has resulted in much confusion. The picture has been photographed, and is still sold with the name of the wrong

Apoteosis de San Hermenegildo.

(Death of San Hermenegildo.)

BY JUAN DE LAS ROELAS.

the height at which they are hung in the hospital church renders it difficult for them to be seen. Yet, in spite of this disadvantage, the canvases glow with colour, and the pictures are remarkable for their strong effects of light and shade.

Roelas had many contemporaries, but none of his fellow-workers or disciples can be classified with him.[1] The interpreters of the Venetian influence stand alone in the history of Spanish art. Their work does not belong to the older mannerists, nor is it analogous with the efforts of the realistic painters. They remain midway between the old manner and the new. Their very position of tentative development enriches their interest. Their work is the first-fruit of a newer and fuller outgrowth yet to come.

master inserted beneath. I mention this fact, as one instance out of many, to show how difficult it is to obtain certain information with regard to the less known Spanish pictures. Señor Gestoso rightly attributes the work to Roelas. There can be no doubt upon the matter to any one who is acquainted with the painter's style.

[1] The best pupil of Roelas was Francisco Varela, who died in 1656. A "San Augustin" and "San Cristóbal" by him in Seville Museo are both well painted.

CHAPTER VII.

DOMENICO THEOTOCÓPULI, KNOWN AS "EL GRECO" (THE GREEK), 1548-1614—THE GENIUS OF UNDEVELOPED IMPULSE.

DOMENICO THEOTOCÓPULI[1] was the supreme glory of the Venetian era. In some measure he reflects its impulse, and his work shadows the period with a witching glamour. The art of Theotocópuli was too individual and intimate for his name to be recorded with his Venetian working contemporaries. His original genius places him among the great painters of Spain. He belongs to the workers who remain apart, personalities supreme in their own completeness. But by the term "completeness" no idea of perfect fulfilment is intended. Nay, these personal characters often fail in accomplishment from their very distinctiveness. Their handiwork frequently overreaches its aim, probably it will be inferior in many technicalities to the art of the painstaking worker, who follows in the safe conventional rut of every-day development. We need, then, feel no surprise to find it written of El Greco that "his manner was often spotty and streaky";[2] that "he developed an incredible mannerism, through a craving for originality";[3] that many of his pictures are "atrocious and extravagant";[4] and, lastly, that "he alternated between delirium and reason, and displayed great

[1] In the catalogue of the Prado Gallery, an alternative of Theotocópulo is given.

[2] Sir W. Stirling-Maxwell.

[3] Carl Justi.

[4] Sir W. Stirling-Maxwell.

genius only at lucid intervals."[1] We can comprehend his failure when painting for the Escorial. How easy for the work of such a spirit to be strangely eccentric! Well might Philip II. refuse to hang his picture. We can readily understand the legend of the painter's madness—a fable still cherished in Toledo, where the sacristán gravely tells the traveller, when he shows a wayward fancy of the master, "A picture painted by El Greco after he became mad."

His incongruities, his extravagance, and his failures may not thus be explained. They were the result of the artist's infinite struggle to attain self-expression in a period bound by a convention of imitation. At times El Greco's brain was possessed with dreams of the impossible, and his failures indicate the measure of his fevered fancy. He knew well those wild tumultuous moments which come at intervals to every artist-spirit. By him they were seized and realised—nay, over-realised. No thought of convention came to lay its cautious hand of everlasting detriment upon the flight of El Greco's burning creation. He would be himself in frenzy unto madness; he would express the idea which throbbed in his burning brain. It mattered not to him if the idea were devoid of beauty. The impossible became to him like the possible. He saw figures of enormous length, their limbs twisted into strange contortions; he pictured colour effects in sudden patches, as if seen by the illuminating flash of a transient light, and a wild, weird, magic of colour and form were transmitted by his brush.

We know little of the life-history of this great personality, even the date of his birth and his exact name are uncertain. Each fact recorded of the painter's life by the historian Palomino is obviously inexact. He

[1] Opinion of several writers, probably founded on Palomino's statement.

states that El Greco's age, at the time of his death, was seventy-seven, although no register of his birth has ever been discovered. He further determines the site of the artist's tomb without any authentic evidence, and embellishes his account with many imaginary details. To the fertile fancy of Palomino we owe the fable that El Greco went mad with rage when he heard his work compared with the pictures of Titian, and purposely distorted his style "to vindicate his originality." The historian's entire account of Theotocópuli is characterised by an absence of accuracy, which is equalled alone by the absurdity of his invention.

What, then, do we know of the life record of the man? The facts are sufficiently meagre. Our first definite knowledge of El Greco dates from the year 1577, when he was living at Toledo. At that time we hear of him building the church of Santo Domingo el Antiguo, and painting his first picture, a fine "Assumption," no longer in Toledo. Who he was or why he came to Spain we can but surmise. His signature attached to a picture in the Escorial tells us that he came from Crete. We hear of his being in Italy, but we can glean no trace of where he lived nor how he studied. Probably he worked at Venice, for his early paintings reflect the influence of Tintoretto. The fable that he studied in the school of Titian is certainly false.[1] It receives no support from an examination of his manner of work. But it is a question of small moment where El Greco studied, for he owed little to his training. "He seems to have discovered art over again for himself."[2] His methods were his own, and his pictures were pre-eminently the creations of his own individuality.

The young painter came to Toledo, drawn there prob-

[1] Originated by Palomino and echoed by many writers

[2] Mr. Arthur Symons writing upon El Greco's style.

ably by the generous patronage at that time afforded to the arts. He has left an unstinted memorial of his work. He painted pictures, he built churches, and he carved statues. Theotocópuli was architect and sculptor as well as painter. But among all this monument of work we find no relic of the man. All we know of his life in the Moorish city is that twice he was engaged in a law-suit—once to compel payment for a picture, which he had refused to alter, when the Chapter of Toledo objected to his unconventional interpretation of a scriptural theme, and the second time to vindicate the right of the artist to sell his work without payment of the common tax levied upon merchandise. In both instances El Greco fought his case until he had won his point. And from this fact we gain a suggestion of the temper of the painter—strong, passionate, coldly relentless, a nature with a supreme power for self-attainment.

Throughout his life El Greco contended for the honour of the artist's craft. A story told of the painter and his favourite pupil, Luis Tristan, reveals this characteristic of the master. The young apprentice had painted a picture for the monks of the Jeronymite Convent of La Sisla, and asked in payment for the work a sum of two hundred dollars. The monks objected to this amount, which they declared was excessive for the work of a young and untried painter. Tristan asked them to refer the matter to his master, who knew the value of the canvas better than he. A few days later, when El Greco was at work with his pupils, one of the fathers came to the studio. He greeted the Toledean master with the greatest urbanity and said he believed there was a small error in the amount his pupil Tristan had demanded for his picture. "What sum did he ask?" abruptly inquired El Greco. The priest named the sum—two hundred dollars. "A mistake, I should think so indeed!" and, to the wonderment of both his caller and his pupils, El Greco flung himself upon the boy Tristan

and began belabouring him heavily with his doubled fist. "You rascal," he cried, "how comes it you made such a mistake? How dare you ask a paltry two hundred dollars for a picture that was worth five hundred?" and for several minutes he mercilessly thudded Tristan's back and head. El Greco declared he would buy the picture himself; it should never be sold for a sum so out of proportion to its value. Again the forceful individuality of the painter accomplished his desire. The priest craved liberty to retain the picture. Gladly he paid the five hundred dollars and returned to his monastery.

This nervous, irritable force was the genius of El Greco. Look at the portrait he has left of himself.[1] The visage thin, the eyes restless, the mouth slightly cruel, the forehead high, the hair thin and bare about the temples. It is an intellectual face, a passionless face. Look once more at the hands, perhaps more than all else they translate the character of the man. What febrile impatience rests in the long, neurotic fingers! They speak of distracting energy; they even suggest a possible delirium.

Upon the pallet are the five primary colours, white, black, yellow ochre, vermilion, and lake. These were the colours El Greco most frequently used. To him colour was the very essence of painting. Pacheco recounts a conversation of memorable interest, when the artist spoke of the supreme value of tone. El Greco held that in painting colour alone was of moment, form, draughtsmanship, all else was of secondary significance.

If we can credit the testimony of Pacheco, this utterance of Theotocópuli does much to illuminate his perplexing manner of work. For him the supreme effort

[1] This portrait of El Greco has been recently given to the Museo of Seville by the Infanta Doña Maria Luisa Fernanda de Borbón.

Domenico Theotocópuli (El Greco).

BY HIMSELF.

of the painter was to interpret colour impressions. Each shade must not be painted in its own absolute tint, but the whole colour-scheme must be rendered as it appears in a first swift glance. To this recording of impressions El Greco often sacrificed his drawing and his truth of detail. In all his pictures there are some minutiæ that offend,—some impossibilities, some absurdities. But every canvas reveals that general effect of colour and line after which the painter has striven.

We meet with the same tints and the same colour combinations in many of El Greco's compositions. A peculiar faded pink, and a dull green that yet is not dark, are perhaps his favoured shades. They occur again and again, both in his portraits and in his imaginary compositions. At times his tones are cold and grey, but they are never dull, never without colour. His manner of painting was the result of an overmastering nervous force. At all times he was struggling to attain a new truth,—the truth of impressions of vision, in place of the old painting of detail.

In his rendering of light and shade, El Greco was as modern as he was in all his work. His art belongs to a period later than the sixteenth century. The restlessness of the modern world impelled El Greco. He knew nothing of the mediæval calm, impatiently he threw away the fetters of the Spanish Catholic art. In fine, El Greco was not an old master. He was a painter with the modern spirit expressing himself in a bygone age. And herein rests his exceeding interest. He was the prelude of which the perfect harmony was Diego Velazquez. For these two painters must of necessity be linked together in the history of Spanish art. The paintings of El Greco may be called a whirlwind of primal vision, while the work of Velazquez is the supreme truth of a calm and balanced sight. One painter saw in flashes what the other perfectly realised. The same spirit dwelt in them both.

The work of El Greco was a passionate effort of egotism. It created the atmosphere which gave Velazquez to the world.

The early pictures of El Greco manifest little of his especial manner. At the time of painting them he was swayed by the Venetian impulse, and had not evolved an individual art. The "Expolio de Jesus" is the most Italian of all his compositions. The picture has none of the technical faults that are visible in the painter's later work. There is little exaggeration and no incongruity, while the somewhat excessive height of the Christ alone foreshadows his distinctive vision. The tones are rich and harmonious, the design is admirable, and there is no disorder in the complex grouping of the figures. In the centre is a majestic Christ, encircled by throngs of priests and warriors. A figure, of perfect naturalness, leans forward to bore the holes in the Cross, which rests upon the ground. Immediately beside the Christ are the three Marys, while a dark and lovely girl, said to be the daughter of the painter, stands in the background.

It was the introduction of the holy women into this scene which scandalised the cathedral Chapter. They insisted that El Greco should paint them out. There was no authority, they protested, to warrant the presence of women at the disrobing of Christ. The painter declined to alter his work. "What did the presence of the Marys matter?" was his plea, and when the payment of his work was refused, he invoked the law and forced the Chapter to complete their contract.

It seems certain that El Greco's long residence in Toledo largely moulded his work. To those who know the strange mediæval city, this fact will cause no surprise. Never did genius live in an environment more suited to its individuality. A city in the midst of the sierra, resting upon its pinnacle of rock, "it epitomises the whole strange

history of Spain."[1] Its walled streets, with their stern aloofness, its weird beauty, its overmastering distinctiveness, its colour—cold, grey, and austere! Toledo reflects the very spirit of the painter.

Gradually the signs of his Venetian bias left El Greco, and his pictures testify that he was striving to attain a more individual utterance. This personal note found its first complete manifestation in "The Martyrdom of St. Maurice," the canvas painted for Philip II., as an altar decoration for the Escorial. The picture has been called "a challenge and an experiment."[2] Let us grant in full all its manifold imperfections,—the fantastic height of the figures, the hard anatomical outlines, the whimsical colouring of crude blues and yellows,—all the wayward impossibilities of drawing, composition, and tone; and yet the picture has the charm of a wild, fantastic dream. The longer one gazes upon it, the more one is impelled. A freak, an impossible vision, born from the over-wrought fancy of the brain! It is a mad study, an ugly one if you like, but its interest is supreme.

Philip refused to accept the picture. He paid the artist and sent him back to Toledo, and the canvas was stored in a neglected corner of the convent library.[3] A quaint poor-order, still extant, refers to the time when El Greco was working at the Escorial. It is an order from Philip II. served to the prior of the Escorial, and dated April 25th, 1580. It commands the prior to allow the artist "a little money that he might provide himself with material, and also to furnish him with some of the finer colours, especially ultra-marine."

Many pictures of El Greco must be grouped with the

[1] G. E. Street. [2] Mr. Arthur Symons.

[3] The canvas is now in the Salas Capitulares of the Escorial, where all the chief pictures are collected. "The Dream of Philip II." is also by El Greco. The King in a wild vision sees Heaven, Hell, and Purgatory.

"St. Maurice." In all of them we note the same wayward striving, the same strange incongruity. Possibly the most remarkable of all his wild fancies is the "St. John the Baptist," in the Hospital de Afuero, at Toledo. All the defects of the rejected altar-piece are here intensified. It is an astounding conception. The figure of the Baptist defies every law of proportion, the limbs are contorted until they become grotesque, and the colour of the flesh is murky and livid. This is the picture which the sacristán of the Church explains by the fable of the artist's madness.

Many Scriptural compositions by El Greco, now in the Museo del Prado at Madrid, reveal the painter's bias for the extraordinary. "Jesus Christ dead in the arms of God the Father" is a remarkable drawing, full of a sense of fevered activity. The lighting in "The Annunciation" and in "The Baptism of Christ" is weirdly curious. The shadows are expressed by strange thin streaks, while the angels in the latter canvas rest in the midst of clouds of a remarkable green tint. Even more astounding is the play of light and shade in "The Crucifixion."[1] The artist might have seen "his effects in gleams of lightning."[2] In all the pictures the anatomy is contorted, the figures are preternaturally tall and terribly bony. The hollow leanness of the Christ upon the Cross is almost horrible. With these pictures must be classed the remarkable conception of "The Trinity" in the Sacristía de los Cálices of Seville Cathedral. It is a work of strange yet impelling power.

More beautiful than these fantastic visions is "The Assumption" in San Vicente at Toledo. It is the greatest of all El Greco's pictures of wild imagining. One distinct impression has directed the painter's brush. The masses

[1] A similar rendering of "The Crucifixion," but in a deplorable state of repair, hangs in the Museo at Toledo.

[2] This remark is made by several writers. I believe the originator of the phrase was Sir W. Stirling-Maxwell.

La Trinidad.

(*The Trinity.*)

BY EL GRECO.

of the colour, the contour of the lines all convey the idea of the ascending figure. Theotocópuli has caught the very feeling of atmosphere. The picture is a truthful vision of a figure rising through the air. Many incongruities might be noted in the work, and the angel who bears the feet of the Virgin in her flight is monstrous in her crude ugliness. It is a picture of infinite surprise, a work of unwonted strangeness, that fascinates while it astonishes.

These works, or rather these fevered impressions, typify the erratic utterance of El Greco's genius. Other pictures of saner mood were created with them—pictures dealing with the concrete, whose distinctive excellence arises from the painter's capacity for portraiture.

His master creation, "The Burial of Gonzalo Ruiz, Count of Orgaz," was painted for the church of Santo Tomé in 1584, immediately after the completion of the "St. Maurice." Seven figures comprise the central group in this gallery of living portraits. The Count, his face livid with death, reclines in the foreground. At his head and feet stand St. Augustine and St. Stephen. Legend tells that the brother angels came from heaven to rest the body in its grave. Upon the right stand two priests, one with a book and the second bearing a taper; while a beautiful child-like acolyte kneels upon the left, immediately beneath a darkly-cowled monk. Each portrait is complete, yet each one gains enforced power from the contrasted presence of the others. The handling is superb. The luminous sheen of the black armour, with its reflection on the white sheet, the wonderful pontifical robes, glorious samples of texture-painting, the faces with their splendid modelling—every distinctive detail is perfect.

Behind the principal figures stand a long row of Spanish hidalgos, the mourners for the Count. They stretch from left to right of the canvas. Their Castilian faces, proud, cold, and austere, still live upon the canvas.

El Greco has caught the very spirit of Spain and left it imprinted upon these speaking faces. All the figures are portraits of notable townsmen, and the sixth figure, counting from the right hand, is El Greco himself. The historian Ponz speaks of the wonder the picture created in Toledo. "Since its appearance," he writes, "the city has never tired of admiring it, visiting it continually, always finding new beauties in it, and contemplating the life-like portraits of the great men of Toledo."

We find no trace of El Greco's wilder manner in the main motive of this picture. The nervous articulation of the hands alone suggests the painter's hidden neurosis. Yet when we leave the concrete composition and look at the upper portion of the picture, again some of the wayward imagery meets our gaze. It is the customary mediæval representation of the Virgin and Christ awaiting in the heavens the spirit of the dying saint. How individual is the rendering! No scene of heavenly sweetness is here depicted. The dead soul is a tall, gaunt man, the hovering angels are men with strong limbs and life-like faces, the Christ is a shadow suggested more than revealed, the Virgin is not the Catholic Mary. This study has all the faults of El Greco's imaginary conceptions. Many of the figures are hopelessly contorted, the extended arm of the Christ is utterly absurd, from its entire want of drawing, the outlines are all hard and black, the Count's figure is of arbitrary height, the clouds are such clouds that only El Greco could have painted them. And yet, in spite of all, a certain dignity, a certain tempestuous beauty dominates the whole. The effect is decorative. The details may be absurd, but the inspiration of the artist triumphs. Involuntarily the eye is satisfied by the harmonious conception of colour and the unison of rightly-directed lines. The heavenly addition does not weaken the *motif* of the drama. It is not a second picture, rightly understood; it is merely a decorative impression.

Antonio Covarrubias.

by El Greco.

El Greco's love of broad effects ensured his mastery in portraiture. He inherited in full measure the Spanish gift of portrait-painting—the power of seizing and realising a likeness. By times his method was too subjective.[1] Many of his portraits bear a curious resemblance to himself, and to all his sitters he gave his own nervous, restless hands. But his greatest studies are magnificent from their life-like power and their glorious colour. The finest are at Toledo. A rugged presentment of Antonio Covarrubias in the Museo of San Juan de los Reyes is magnificent in its impelling power. Almost equally good is the likeness of Juan de Alava in the same collection. A third portrait of Cardinal Tavera, in the Hospital de Afuera, is a work of the utmost dignity. The inherent character of the sitter speaks in the reserve and refinement of the countenance. This work bears a curious resemblance to the portrait of Cardinal Manning by G. F. Watts, in the National Gallery of London. El Greco executed a likeness of Feliz de Artiaga that caused the poet to write dual sonnets to his fame. In one he addresses him as "Divino Griego," while in the second he calls him "el Milagro (the miracle) Griego."

Theotocópuli was a worker of unbounded and restless energy. Pacheco comments upon his remarkable industry. He was a student and philosopher as well as a painter; and the historian tells us, in his *Arte de la Pintura,* that El Greco kept a large closet filled with small models of all the works he had ever wrought or painted. Toledo is the museum of his efforts; but in Seville, in Madrid, and in many of the towns of Spain, as well as in the galleries of Europe, his pictures may be seen.[2] The variety of this

[1] This subjectiveness is especially visible in the series of portraits in the Madrid Gallery.

[2] In 1902, at the time of the King of Spain's coronation, a special exhibition of El Greco's work was held at the Prado Gallery. Many excellent works from private collections were shown. A very fine

work is immense. El Greco was a genius of many moods, and new impressions continually confront the student when gazing upon his studies. This painter of wild fantastic strength could conceive scenes of tenderness and beauty. Some of his figures have sweetness and grace;[1] here and there we see an angel that is a vision of heavenly fitness, while in the midst of his maddest scenes are well-drawn and beautiful figures. By the saneness and strength of much of his work he challenges his visions of drawn-out limbs and twisted muscles. His wild fancies were premeditated. He could paint the beautiful and the ordinary when he desired.

The Toledan master died on the 7th day of April in the year 1614. The record of his burial is brief:—"*Libro de entierros de Santo Tomé de 1601-1614, en siete del Abril del 1614 falescio Dominico Greco No hizo testamento, recibo los sacramantos, en teroso en Santo Domingo el Antiguo. Dio velas.*" There is no eulogy of the painter's work, no testimony to his strange genius.[2]

canvas was "Christ driving out the Money-changers from the Temple." The sense of action in this picture was marvellously rendered. There are two representations of this scene in Spain, one in the cathedral at Valladolid and one in a private collection at Madrid. The small picture in the National Gallery was probably a sketch for one of the larger works. There are two pictures by Theotocópuli in the National Gallery—a study of a father of the Church dressed as a Cardinal, and usually called "St. Jerome," and the "Christ and the Money-changers" already mentioned. Neither are good instances of his work. They give no idea of the power of the painter. A fine picture by El Greco has recently been added to the Louvre.

[1] Perhaps the best instances are the portrait of his daughter and the supposed study of his son George Manuel Theotocópuli, seen in the picture of St. Martin at Toledo, and in the figure introduced into the "Vista of Toledo" in the museum of the city.

[2] An excellent appreciation of El Greco's paintings at Toledo is given by Miss Hannah Lynch in the *Story of Toledo*, of the "Mediæval Town Series."

CHAPTER VIII.

THE FIRST PORTRAIT-PAINTERS OF THE SPANISH COURT —THE SIXTEENTH AND EARLY SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES.

PORTRAITURE bore, at all times, a significant place in the history of Castilian art; for the spirit of portraiture accorded well with the Spanish character. It fostered the native pride, while at the same time it satisfied the intense dramatic craving for individual representation so common among her painters. The portrait was the one artistic result unfettered by the restrictions of the Church, and the secular side of the national art is represented by the long gallery of royal portraits. No other sovereigns have inherited the pictorial immortality of the House of Austria. Each king had his favourite artist, the *pintor-de-cámára* of the Court. To these chosen servants the royal friendship was unstinted. It rivalled the patronage the Church extended to the painter of religious themes. The members of the Hapsburg dynasty were in some measure redeemed by their instinctive appreciation of æsthetic culture. Charles V. inherited a love of the fine arts from his mother, Isabella la Catolica, and we have already noticed his terms of intimate affection for the great Venetian painter. Philip II. was more than an amateur in music, painting, and architecture: he used the pencil with facility, and had considerable knowledge of architectural design. He is credited with the unaided production of the plans for the Convent of the Trinity, in Madrid. The building of the Escorial was of greater moment to him than the affairs of state. Philip III.,

though wanting the cultivation of his progenitors, was still the encourager of painting, while his son, Philip IV., was a diligent collector of all works of art. Disastrous as a governor, he was perfect in his relation to his painters. Even Charles II., the final representative of the worn-out and dissipated monarchy, cherished the traditions of his forbears. The whole character of these Austrian monarchs changed when brought into relation with their favoured painters. Taciturn and suspicious to the rest of humankind, they forgot their royal importance in the studio, and became appreciative men. Innumerable stories illustrate the close intimacy of this relationship. The artist was never suffered to remain unrewarded, even if his work was disapproved. El Greco received full payment for the despised "Martyrdom of St. Maurice." When Zucarro was dismissed from the Escorial, he was amply paid for his work, while a large sum was given in addition as compensation for his failure. Philip III. allowed his tenderness to the artist to cloud his judgment of good work. Lucrative posts both in the Church and State were given to the painters. Again and again words of the highest compliment are recorded as being uttered by the sovereign to one of his artists. "Painter of the King, and king of painters," Philip IV. is said to have remarked to Zurbarán. Upon another occasion the monarch silenced the canons of Granada, when they demurred against the introduction of Alonso Cano into their brotherhood, with the often-quoted remark: "I can make many canons, but God alone can fashion an Alonso Cano." The Painter-in-Ordinary was lodged in the royal palace, the King had free access to his studio, and all the members of the royal household were on intimate terms with the artist. It has been said that Philip IV. spent more time in the painting-room of Velazquez, than in the council chamber of Castile.

From these affectionate relations certain marked

tendencies arose in the royal portraits of Spain. The favour of the sovereign bound the painter with very stringent ties to the interests of the Court. The Spanish portrait-painters were, in fine, the depictors of the Austrian dynasty. Very little licence was permitted for the expression of their talent. They painted the king, his wife, his children, and his brothers, while occasionally they painted the Court favourites. In this way they became steeped in the royal character, and their painting was, of necessity, modified by the limitation of its utterance. The portrayal of a royal stock, step by step through its slow progress towards dissipated extinction,—this was the task of the Spanish portrait-painter. They have fulfilled their mission with unerring truth. Whatever faults impair the artistic perfection of these canvases, no lack of fidelity is ever shown in the likeness. The difficulties the painter had to overcome were numberless. It was not easy to delineate the Austrian countenance, with its strange hanging lip, and look of intermingled pride and gloom. The cold formality of the sitter cramped the brush of all except the finest genius. Rigid were the rules of Spanish etiquette which bound the painter in the royal household. It is true he was the friend of the king, but an Austrian monarch was decorous in his most intimate relations. The darkness of the Inquisition at all times shadowed the Court. We read how the favoured Antonio Moro incurred the displeasure of the Holy Office for an act of undue familiarity. The king one day placed his hand suddenly upon the painter's shoulder, when entering unannounced into his studio. Moro thought of his work alone, he was annoyed at any interruption; without a moment's hesitation he turned round and rapped the regal knuckles sharply with his maulstick. This enormity was so great that the king himself could not grant a pardon. All that he could do was to warn his favourite to leave the country, to avoid seizure by the familiars of the Inquisition. Some

doubt is thrown on the truth of this story. It is not mentioned either by Palomino or Cean Bermudez; but their version of the reason of Moro's departure from Spain is scarcely more credible. He made his escape, they tell us, "because he was like to have been cast into the prison of the Inquisition, on a charge of bewitching the king." In either case the deduction is alike. Personal familiarity was not possible in the Austrian Court.

Very little laxity was conceded to the painter in his choice of costume and pose of his sitter. Any painting of the nude figure was strictly prohibited. Once, indeed, Titian depicts Philip II. gazing upon Venus, but at this period no Spanish artist was allowed to paint such a study. All the undraped models of Titian and other Italian workers were guarded in a secret apartment, where they could only be seen by special permission from the sovereign.

The ladies of the Court lived in an atmosphere of convention; their dress of stiffest discomfort symbolises the narrow strictness of their lives. A dominant formalism was the procrustean law of the royal household. The Court-painter had to render the disfiguring costumes of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. He was required to paint dresses whose one apparent aim was to distort all proportion in the human form; he had to render hair fixed into wooden curls, having no regard for the contour of the face; and more than all, he was obliged to pose his sitter, in conventional attitude, disguised by these monstrous incongruities. It was his task to give beauty and the animation of life to these dressed-up royalties. This was the work of the Court-painter of Spain, these were the difficulties with which he was compelled to grapple. What marvel that many of the portraits are stiff and formal! A likeness to the original is at all times apparent, but the artistic effect of the picture is often obscured. The want of vitality in the sitter was frequently fatal to

the painter. His final results tend to be studied, and his canvas is burdened with an overpowering sense of decorous royalty.

In 1550 a Flemish painter, Antonio Moro, was commended to Charles V. by Cardinal Granvel. Moro was an artist of power; he was a member of the Guild of Antwerp; he had studied in the school of Jan van Scorel, and afterwards had visited Italy. His skill in portraiture was great, and the Emperor despatched him without delay to Lisbon, to paint the portrait of Philip's betrothed bride.

With him went the Spanish painter Alonso Sanchez Coello, who acquired his master's power in rendering a likeness. Three years later Moro was commissioned to paint the portrait of Mary of England. He remained with Philip during his brief life with his bride, and many of his best portraits are still in England.[1]

When Philip returned to Madrid to take possession of the Spanish crown, Moro went with him. For long he remained in close attendance upon the sovereign, and only withdrew from Madrid to escape the penalties of the Inquisition.

The influence Moro exerted in Spain was great. He is esteemed throughout the peninsula, where he is known as Antonio Moro, the favourite portrait-painter of Philip II. He cannot be regarded as a Spanish painter, but he founded a new position at the Court. Prior to this date many artists had painted likenesses of the sovereigns, but Moro was the first painter attached exclusively to the sovereign for the sole purpose of portraying the royal family. For two centuries this post was never vacant, and

[1] These pictures are chiefly in private collections. Among the best are the portraits of the Queen and the Earl of Essex, now in the gallery of Lord Yarborough. A fine study of the painter himself is treasured at Althorp. There are several of his portraits at Hampton Court. In England Moro is always spoken of as Sir Anthony More, although no record exists of when he received his knighthood.

the royal portraits are among the greatest pictures in Spain.

The Madrid Gallery contains thirteen examples of Moro's portraits.[1] The likeness of Mary of England is a presentment of unflinching power.[2] As a study in realistic portraiture it could hardly be excelled. For us the interest in these works arises from the fact that they originated a new standard of royal portraiture. They were the model upon which the Spaniards for long moulded their work.

In the main the example of Moro was beneficial. His work was simple and sincere, true to nature and marked with dignity. He had full command over his medium; his flesh tints are always good, and many of his portraits are rich examples of sixteenth-century costume. A certain formality in his style was intensified by his Spanish models. Moro was as decorous in his art as the king he painted. His portraits are uncompromisingly dignified; but at the same time they are not stiff. Moro's excellent technique, and his mastery of his craft, enabled him to combine vitality with intense coldness. His figures live, though they are always formal. But a painter with more freedom, more originality of brush, one whose art defied rather than acquiesced in this code of rigid ceremony, would have been more vivifying as a pioneer-painter of the Court portraits of Spain. How easy it was for such likenesses to degenerate in the hands of less skilful followers. It needed little to turn such pictures into presentments of wooden inanimation.[3]

[1] Many others of Moro's works were burned in the fire at the Prado in 1734.

[2] Mr. R. A. M. Stevenson comments upon the influence this portrait may have had upon Velazquez.

[3] In addition to portraits Moro painted a few historical and religious compositions. Van Mander speaks with praise of an unfinished study of the "Circumcision of Christ," painted for the

Philip II. had a passion for multiplying the representations of his person. He at once appointed Alonso Sanchez Coello *pintor-de-cámára*, when Moro left the Court and retired to Brussels. We know little of the early life of Sanchez Coello. He was born during the first years of the sixteenth century, but no record remains of the exact date. Palomino asserts that he was a native of Portugal; but Cean Bermudez disputes the statement, and claims that he was born in Valencia, on the authority of a pedigree provided by Coello's nephew. The historian says that the painter's third name, which is of undoubted Portuguese derivation, came from his mother.[1] In any case, Sanchez was intimately connected with Portugal, and we know that Philip frequently addressed him as "his Portuguese Titian." We possess no knowledge where Sanchez learned the rudiments of his art. It is possible that he studied in Italy, and we know that he copied carefully the paintings of Titian; but his great trainer was Antonio Moro. He worked with the Netherlands master in Madrid, and in 1552 went with him to Lisbon. The Court-painter became Coello's model, and it is often difficult to distinguish the best pictures of the pupil from those of the master.

From the very first Fate smiled upon the Spanish portrait-painter. "Never was there born," says M. Viardot, "so fortunate and so celebrated a painter." At Lisbon, Coello entered the service of the Infant Don Juan of Portugal, and upon the death of that prince, Philip II. received him as a member of his own house-

Cathedral of Antwerp. But, as a whole, Moro had little aptitude for any branch of his art except portraiture, and his historical scenes are insignificant and affected. There are none of these works in Madrid. In Spain he was the Court portrait-painter, whose one duty was to record the royal countenances.

[1] It is more usual in Spain for a son to be called by his mother's name than by his father's.

hold. Pacheco thus relates the fondness with which Philip cherished his beloved painter: "The King gave him for lodging the large house adjoining the palace. As there existed a secret communication, of which Philip only had the key, he went in upon the painter in his *robe-de-chambre* at all hours—sometimes when he was sitting at dinner with his family. On these occasions Philip made him sit down, and went into the painting-room to pass the time. When the painter was at his easel on the King's sudden entrance, it was the same: Philip put his hands on the artist's shoulder and told him not to move, standing for many hours behind his chair, watching the progress of his work." More than once Philip addressed him in writing as *Al muy amado hijo* (my beloved son).

Coello painted Philip in many attitudes. We are told he drew the King "in cloak and bonnet, armed, in travelling dress, on foot and on horseback." Nor was Philip his only model. The varied members of the royal household were all painted many times. Among his sitters were the Popes Gregory XIII. and Sixtus V., and the Grand Duke of Florence. Many other dignitaries also honoured him, and we are told that the painter made more than fifty-two thousand ducats.

It has seemed necessary to dwell with some insistence upon the position Sanchez Coello occupied in the Court of Philip II. I wish to illuminate the close connection which bound the painter to the interests of the Crown. We have already noticed the cramping tendency resulting from the abnormal strength of this union. No one who studies the royal portraits of Coello and his successor can fail to be impressed with their cold restraint. A lack of spontaneity is perhaps their strongest characteristic. It triumphs over the careful execution, and destroys the artistic beauty of the work. We feel instinctively that the painters were simply adjuncts of the sovereign, and their portraits part of the Court furniture. They were paid

photographers rather than painters—the illustrators of the Hapsburg dynasty. Their portraits have a historical rather than an artistic value. Even in this guise their interest is conventional. They reproduced their sitters in commonplace character, and their presentments are illuminated by no new revelation of insight. This is what Velazquez achieved. And his genius first developed outside the Castilian Court. He came to paint the royal portraits fresh from the school of Seville, where he had striven directly with Nature. But the painters trained by Court painters, bred in a rigid tradition of the etiquette of royal presentment!—surely here we have a further instance of the Spanish Crown retarding the development of the nation's art.

Enough has been said with regard to the general limitation of the Court portrait-painters. It remains to study their pictures in detail. A half-length likeness of the Infanta Doña Isabel Clara Eugenia, the daughter of Philip II., is typical of Çoello's work.[1] The figure stands rigidly erect, clad in a bejewelled dress of gorgeous stuffs, against a background toned dark to relieve the head. One hand rests upon the back of a wooden settle, a laced handkerchief is held in the other. The face is not beautiful, the complexion is too swarthy. Yet the portrait is not without a certain quaint interest. Throughout, the handling is good; the face is well modelled, and the hands, with their many rings, are delicately painted. All the jewels and the rich stuffs are rendered with the utmost care, indeed, no fault can ever be found with the manner in which Coello paints his sitters' dresses. In one of his portraits he shows a Knight of the Order of San Santiago supposed to be the favoured minister, Antonio Pérez. The figure is clad in a black robe, relieved with white plumes and the jewelled cross of his order. It is a

[1] The Princess was herself distinguished as a painter and musician.

magnificent conception of clothing. What one desires is more vitality, a greater feeling of individual life in the model.

A study of the "Principe Don Carlos" is the companion picture to the portrait of his half-sister, the Infanta. The young prince is clad in a rich suit of cloth of gold; a short furred mantle covers his shoulders. The dress is less stiff, the figure has more life. Again the hands are beautifully rendered. The boy clasps his fingers upon the hilt of his jewelled sword; his left hand rests upon his hip.

In addition to his portraits,[1] Sanchez Coello painted many sacred scenes.[2] His power in rendering these studies of imagination is proved by his "Marriage of St. Catherine" in the Prado Museo.[3] The figures are well grouped and natural. They reveal little of the stiffness that mars his portrait-studies. Mary is a fine conception. She holds the Christ in her arms, and the Child leans forward

[1] The seven remaining portraits are of Queen Ana of Austria, the fourth wife of Philip II., and other members of the royal household. The best is a likeness of the Infantas Doña Isabel and Doña Catalina Micaela. There is a portrait of a lady attributed to Coello at Vienna. The Hermitage at St. Petersburg has a good portrait of the Duchess Margaret of Parma. England has few pictures by Coello. A study of "Doña Isabel," in the collection of the Duke of Devonshire, formerly credited as an early study by Velazquez, is now recognised as his work. In 1583, Coello painted the portrait of Ignatius Loyola from waxen casts. This picture has been lost.

[2] From 1574-77 Coello painted nine scriptural scenes for the Chapter of Segovia. A study of St. Thomas still hangs in the cathedral, but the canvas has been coarsely repainted and ruined. In 1580, Coello executed a large composition of "The Martyrdom of St. Sebastian" for the Church of San Jerónimo at Madrid. Cumberland praises this picture in his *Anecdotes of the Artists of Spain*, saying the work has "great majesty of design, bold relief, and strong masterly expression." Doubtless this praise is excessive.

[3] The picture came from the Monastery of San Lorenzo at the Escorial. It was one of a series of religious compositions painted for Philip II. in 1582.

RETRATO DEL PRINCIPE DON CARLOS, HIJO DE FELIPE II.

(Portrait of Don Carlos, son of Philip II.)

BY ALONSO SANCHEZ COELLO.

to bless the young Catherine, who kneels upon the ground.

Coello was one of the most popular of Spanish painters. Palomino calls him "that most excellent face-painter." The historian unites with Pacheco in the eulogy of his work, while the poet Lope de Vega wrote a sonnet in his praise:

> "The noble fam'd Prothogenes of Spain,
> Alonso Sanchez, from whose hand remain
> Pictures, the painters most renown'd of old
> With looks of envious wonder might behold,
> Eternal scenes of history divine,
> Wherein for aye his memory shall shine."

Sanchez Coello gathered many disciples in his studio, and the Spanish school of portraiture now centred at Madrid. These workers were of mediocre merit, and stable record of few remains. Coello died in 1590, and his favourite pupil, Pantoja de la Cruz,[1] was at once chosen as chief painter to Philip II.

Pantoja had imbibed the spirit of his master, and the faults of Coello are intensified in his portraits. His canvases want breadth and freedom of handling. His merit is his careful execution. The drawing of his figures is correct, and, as a rule, the colour is rich and congenial, while the dresses are invariably well painted; but nothing compensates for the absence of vigour and life in his figures.

Pantoja never gained the royal friendship as amply as his predecessor, and we have no record of his residence at the palace. He painted many portraits of Philip II. and his family, and upon the death of that king in 1598, he entered the service of Philip III. Only one of the painter's likenesses of Philip II. remains at Madrid. It is an interesting study in which the old age of the King is rendered

[1] Pantoja was born at Madrid in 1551.

with uncompromising truth. The protruding lip, the eyes dimmed with sensuality and age, every wrinkle, every indication of shrivelled life is faithfully painted. A rosary is held in the King's hand, who is depicted in the characteristic occupation of prayer.[1] Two presentments of the beautiful Princess of Valois, the third wife of Philip II., who was known in Spain as "Isabel de la Pax," are the finest of Pantoja's portraits.[2] The dark beauty of Isabel is at any rate suggested, while her jewels and robe of black velvet are admirably painted.[3]

In 1603 Pantoja painted scenes of "The Nativity" and the "Virgin with Christ" for the Royal Alcázar at Madrid.[4] The pictures are portrait sketches of the royal household decked in Eastern character. In "The Nativity" the Virgin is Queen Margaret, the wife of Philip III., and the distinctive features of the Austrian house may be seen in many of the characters. The mediæval mind was conscious of no incongruity in such a union. Such royal portraits were emblems of piety and religious humility, the dual virtues of the age.

No register remains to note the date of Pantoja's death. We know that it was after 1609. He closes the earliest group of royal portrait-painters. Until the advent

[1] A similar study of Philip, in the later ravages of hideous age, hangs in the Escorial. Pantoja executed three studies of Charles V., copied from the portrait of Titian. Two are at the Escorial, and the other is in the Royal Gallery.

[2] Sir W. Stirling-Maxwell notes the fact that Queen Isabel died when Pantoja was just seventeen years old. Thus the portraits must have been painted from a lost copy, or Pantoja must be older than is usually conjectured.

[3] A likeness of Margarita of Austria, the wife of Philip III., portraits of the Emperatriz Doña Maria and of the Infanta Doña Juana, the sisters of Philip II., a good presentment of a Knight of the Order of Santiago, and studies of two ladies from the Court of Philip complete the portraits by Pantoja in the Royal Gallery.

[4] The pictures are now in the Prado.

LOS DESPOSORIOS DE SANTA CATALINA.

(The Marriage of St. Catherine.)

BY ALONSO SANCHEZ COELLO.

of Velazquez no artist was devoted exclusively to producing the royal likenesses.[1] There is a certain difficulty in defining the precise position of these first Court portrait-painters in the evolution of the country's art. By their detachment from the Church, they were removed from the strongest impulses of the artistic life around them; but although apart, by reason of their environment, they were nevertheless influenced by the prevailing spirit of their time. Italian mannerism was approaching its final development, and there can be little doubt that the conventionality engendered by the peculiar bondage of the royal painter was intensified by the widespread adoption of Italian standards. It may be this tendency was less potent in portraiture than in many of the contemporary religious pictures. It is a question not easy to determine with any certainty. The early portrait-painters never reached the degradation of the pseudo-Italian religious painters. On the other hand, they were without the genius of those workers, who burst the trammels of the unnatural growth and founded the Spanish national school. Here also these first painters of the royal portraits remain apart. Their work was good; it was never great. The extreme care and sincerity of their painting was due, in part, to the Flemish manner of their inspirer, Moro. It was also the reflection of their own national character, ever ready to sacrifice beauty to truth. Yet it seems probable that both painters were conscious of the influence of Titian. We know that they copied his pictures, and traces of the Venetian sway can often be detected in their colouring and in their painting of stuffs.[2] Thus the portraits of the Court artists bear the

[1] Early in the sixteenth century Francisco Fernandez painted portraits of the king, but his work is insignificant.

[2] Sir W. Stirling-Maxwell notes the resemblance between Coello's likeness of the young Prince Don Carlos and Titian's early portraits of Philip II. Sir Edmund Head, in his *Handbook of Painting in Spain*,

stamp of a varied inspiration. In their work the Italian tendency is modified by a Northern and Venetian ascendency. Yet stronger than these forces in moulding such royal portraits was the sway of the Court etiquette. It was a deadening tendency which only the finest genius could have availed to combat. Here we find the explanation of the cold formality the lack of animation that dominates their work.

notices a picture by Sanchez Coello, which was, at the time he wrote in the collection of the Duke of Dalmatia. It is a religious study, representing "St. Anthony and St. Paul the Hermit." Sir Edmund Head praises the good colour and general style of the picture, which, he says, "closely resembles Navarette," the interpreter of Venetianism in Castile.

CHAPTER IX.

THE LATER MANNERISTS—LATE SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES.

THE seventeenth century was a time of unparalleled moment in the æsthetic development of Spain. These years formed the stage for her greatest painters. It was the era of Velasquez, of Ribera, of Zurbarán, of Murillo, and of the many workers who were associated with them. It is noteworthy that this century which saw the supreme fulfilment of the genius of the race, likewise witnessed the decline of the country's power. At the close of the fifteenth century Spain first became a nation. During the next hundred years she was potent throughout the world. Then followed her decline. The year 1588 saw the destruction of the Armada; in 1640 Portugal was lost; in 1648 the independence of the Netherland States was recognised; and in 1700 the Austrian dynasty reached its final termination. Thus the artistic growth was in no way coincident with the country's greatness; rather it followed in the ebb-tide, the time of rest, resulting after an age of achievement. There was a pause in the national history, and these years of civic failure were pregnant with intellectual creation. That spirit, which in past years had discovered countries and fought and won battles, was still brooding in the nation. It revealed itself in a whelming artistic impulse—a passionate effort for individual expression. The analogy between the artistic and the civic life is very intimate. A hundred years later the æsthetic impulse followed the exact record of the national history. At the dawn of the sixteenth century

the country broke from the last thralls of the Moorish service; in the seventeenth century Spanish art at length cast aside her burden of degenerate Italianism. For a few short years the nation of Spain was supreme; for a period equally brief the Spanish masters were second to the masters of no other school.

Thus the seventeenth century is the sacred era of Spanish art. But at the very outset a difficulty awaits the student. This impelling spirit, which realised the renaissance of the national art, was not equally felt by every painter. Throughout the century there were workers who still cherished the time-worn standards with a painful tenacity. Indeed, it was during this century that pseudo-Italianism reached its most degraded expression. Pacheco, the very type of the antique standpoint, was the father-in-law and trainer of Velazquez, the supreme initiator of Spanish art. The academic Juan del Castillo was the master of Murillo, while the insignificant mannerist, Pedro de Moya, was a cogent influence in his life. The greatest of the eclectics, Alonso Cano and Juan de Valdés Leal, were the contemporaries of Zurbarán and Murillo. They worked with them in Andalusia, and Valdés Leal outlived the Sevillian master. Herrera *el Mozo*, the exponent of Italian mannerism in its last limit of degradation, was the son of the man whose virile personality founded the Spanish naturalistic school. All effort to distinguish chronologically between the mannerists and their greater fellow-workers must hopelessly fail. The two classes of artists worked together in the same schools and at the same time; and yet, from the truer aspect of growth, the mannerists were the prior development. Their work was the final realisation of the art of a past age, while the pristine effort of the realists was the herald of a new birth. For this reason I have placed the mannerists first, although in actual date the earliest of the realists lived before them. I wished to note the ultimate

effect of the Italian following before turning to that brighter record, the growth of the country's national art.

During the early years of the seventeenth century Seville was the great Southern centre of culture. From 1600 to 1630 the city outrivalled Madrid in the number and importance of her painters. Two impulses were working in the city. On the one hand, there was a small band of painters defying all professed standards, painters who drew their inspiration immediately from nature; upon the other, was a company of religious academics whose art was iron-bound, shrouded by the rigid limitations of past conventions. The interest of this narrow group is mirrored in the artist-historian, Francisco Pacheco, who lived in Seville from 1571 to 1654. Pacheco is one of those artists, greatly admired in his own time, who has suffered complete eclipse from the splendour of his immediate successors. He is remembered by later generations solely as the teacher of Velazquez. For us his significance is great; he represents the struggle of the old artistic life, in these years of transition. His pictures, carefully painted, rigidly correct both in their conception and in their rendering, have no artistic value. They show the dull limit of academical perfection. The personality of Pacheco is more interesting than his work. Perhaps no other artist was ever so deeply imbued with the sacred proprieties of art. Pacheco's entire conception of painting was a punctilious observance of saintly etiquette. He was the Familiar of the Inquisition, whose duty it was to see that no indecent or immodest picture was painted by any artist of the Sevillian school. To read his *Arte de la Pintura*, a book first published in Seville in 1649, is a revelation. No other work so strikingly illustrates the intimate connection which intermingled religious convention and art in the Spanish mind. Often it is difficult to realise that the author is serious. He devotes many pages to a grave discussion of the question whether paint-

ing or sculpture is the elder art. He solemnly decides that sculpture is the oldest, because God fashioned Adam out of clay; then he rejects this theory, and confers the distinction upon painting, giving as his reasons that light and colour were among the first creations. But the entire sincerity of Pacheco is manifest from his preface. He writes, "My remarks will serve as salutary counsel, offered as they are at the age of seventy; all that is best and most assured in them is principally owing to the sacred religion of the company of Jesus, which has perfected them. I find myself at this moment rich in hints and observations, the result of the advice and approval of the wisest men since the year 1605. It will not therefore appear alien from my profession to point out to Christian painters the method they ought to pursue, since I find myself honoured with a particular commission from the Holy Tribunal of the Inquisition, to denounce the errors committed in pictures, by the ignorance or wickedness of the artist."

One of the most illuminative passages in the book discusses the difficulty which confronts the artist, obliged to master his craft without endangering his purity, by the study of the nude figure. Pacheco denounces this practice as impossible for the Christian painter. He speaks with strong invective against the character of many of the classic artists, while at the same time he admits the excellence of their work. He then relates an imaginary conversation between himself and a young student as to the duty of the painter in this critical question.

"I seem," he says, "to hear some one asking me: 'Señor Pintor, scrupulous as you are, whilst you place before us as an example the ancient artists, who continually painted the figures of naked women in order to imitate them perfectly, and whilst you charge us to paint well, what resource do you afford us?' I would answer: 'Señor Licentiate, this is what I would do. I

would paint the face and hands from nature, in which, in my opinion, there is no danger. With regard to the other parts, I would avail myself of good pictures, engravings, drawings, models, ancient and modern statues, and the excellent designs of Albrecht Dürer, so that I might choose what was most graceful and well-composed without running into danger.'"

I would quote two further passages. One occurs in the midst of an exposition upon the fitting representation of the mother of God, and the second speaks of the impropriety of painting the new-born Christ without covering.

"What can be more foreign," the painter writes, "from the respect which we owe to the purity of Our Lady the Virgin than to paint her sitting down, with one of her knees placed over the other, and often with her sacred feet uncovered and naked? Let thanks be given to the Holy Inquisition which commands that this liberty should be corrected!"

The second passage reads in this wise: "How do artists dare to paint Him thus? [Pacheco refers to a painting by Roelas, where the babe Jesus lies unswathed in his manger.] One thing is certain, even if the sacred text did not tell us so, no one would credit so little prudence and so little compassion in His most holy Mother, as that she would expose the child at such a rigorous season, and in the middle of the night, to the inclemency of the cold."

Comment upon such discourse is superfluous. The remarks symbolise the long struggle to reconcile the hostile claims of religion and art. It is the inner spirit of the iron convention which bound the Spanish school. Surely here is the cry of the old order in its fear before a shadowed change?

Of the paintings of Pacheco it is sufficient to say that they are the exact interpretation of the man. The

historian-artist was always an industrious worker. He painted with the utmost care, and he never failed to make detailed sketches for all his pictures. He completed an innumerable number of pictures, which may still be viewed in the cathedral, the churches, and the museo of Seville. None rise above the dull level of mediocrity. The rules of drawing are never transgressed; the pictures are perfectly correct, but hopelessly bad, with hard, flat outlines, harsh and cold in colour, mannered, and without any trace of individual expression. Pacheco tells us that Raphael was his model. His Virgins and Christs remain a witness of the degradation ensuing from meaningless imitation. They mark the lowest debasement of the pseudo-Italian religious pictures. Empty and exaggerated, they are devoid alike of artistic truth and artistic charm.

Juan del Castillo, the master of Murillo and Alonso Cano, must be classified with Pacheco. Castillo was born in Seville in 1584, and, like his co-mannerist, studied in the school of Luis Fernandez. He belonged to a family of artists, and his elder brother Augustin was an insignificant fresco-painter. Juan, the younger brother,[1] painted religious scenes for the churches of Seville. His pictures share all the mannerism of Pacheco, and in addition they are defective in drawing. "The Annunciation," in the Provencial Museum, is generally accounted his best work. It is crude and hard, the tones are bright with little harmony, and the Virgin's arm is incorrectly drawn.[2]

[1] The only member of the Castello family whose painting ever rose above a second-rate merit, was the nephew of Juan—Antonio Castillo y Saavedra (see p. 162).

[2] The most interesting picture of Juan del Castillo's that I saw in Spain was a small easel-painting of the "Virgin and Child," in the private collection of Señor Don López Cepero. The colour of the picture is bad, and it is hard and somewhat crude; but the study is not entirely without interest. It is possible to discover faint traces of the influence Castillo wielded over his pupils.

The work of Pacheco and Castillo clearly shadows the depravity of the later mannerists. A still deeper affectation is revealed in the pictures of Herrera *el Mozo*. His work is the final example of the decadence of Italianism in Spain.

The younger Herrera was born at Seville in 1622. He was not without natural facility. His work gives no sign of the academic stiffness of Pacheco, and it shows none of Castillo's weakness in drawing. A certain freedom characterises his handling, a power he doubtless acquired during his early work in his father's studio. The fury of his parent's temper drove Francisco to Rome. He studied hard and painted *bodegones*, or small pictures of still-life, with good effect. Soon he became known for his painting of fish, and his skill earned him the title of "Lo Spangnuolo dei pesci." His father died in 1656, and Francisco returned to Seville, where he at once painted a picture upon the "Glorification of St. Francis" for the chapel of the saint in the cathedral.

The influence of Herrera's long residence in Rome is manifested in his work. His inherited facility enabled him quickly to assimilate an Italianised manner. But he failed utterly to comprehend the true spirit of the masters he studied. His dexterous trickery led him into a mere imitation of the external form. No individual creative spirit is ever seen in his work. For originality he substituted exaggeration. *Bravura* is the word which best describes both the man and his work. His drawing is often strained and his composition at all times wants simplicity and repose. In character, Herrera was jealous and suspicious; often he wrangled with his brother painters, while his estimate of his own talent was excessive. We learn from Cean Bermudez that envy of Murillo drove him to Madrid in 1660. It is possible he dreamed of being the successor to Velazquez. At the capital he appears to have gained considerable apprecia-

tion. Palomino, writing in 1715, speaks of a portrait of a Frenchman loading his gun as "a miracle of art." This excessive eulogy is difficult to understand. Herrera's fellow-countrymen appear to have appraised him upon his own estimation. In 1661 he painted a picture of San Hermenegildo, for the bare-footed Carmelites, which is now in the Prado Museo. Fable relates that Herrera was so charmed with his handiwork that he said the canvas ought to be carried to its place amid the music of trumpets and drums. Whether true or no, the remark strikes the key-note of Herrera's character. In him the new spirit was absorbed in excessive vanity. His nature has none of the pathos of Pacheco's, clinging with diligent care to the old artistic paths. Herrera remained a mannerist because he was too little in soul to comprehend the life around him.[1]

The study of Herrera *el Mozo,* as the fitting type of Spanish-Italian decadence, has carried us forward into a period of later date. Herrera died at Madrid in 1685. It remains to retrace our steps to the early years of the seventeenth century. At that time a company of painters were working at Madrid. They were masters of secondary merit, whose attainment was good without being great. Their leader was an Italian, Vicente Carducci, who had

[1] Herrera was made painter to Philip IV., and executed many pictures and frescoes for the Royal Alcázar. He has also left some execrable architectural designs. A picture attributed to Francisco Herrera has recently been added to the National Collection of Pictures in Trafalgar Square. The subject of the work is "Christ disputing with the Doctors." The figures are seen to the waist and are somewhat larger than life. On the right is the young Christ reasoning with the Pharisees. His attitude is theatrical; indeed, there is no simplicity or dignity in the work. Mary and Joseph are visible in the mid-distance. The strained position of Joseph's hand effectively illustrates the poverty of Herrera's art. The picture was bequeathed to the National Gallery in 1899, by Mrs. Alexander Lang Elder.

come to Spain in 1585, when a child of seven, with his brother, Bartolommeo. Carducci was made painter to Philip III. in 1609, and until the advent of Velazquez was the foremost artist at the Court. He died in 1638, having lost his reason, probably due to disappointment and failure.[1]

During twenty years Carducci was the first influence at Madrid. He established an Italian standard that was closely followed by his disciples. Carducci's manner of painting was wholly Italian, although he had spent his entire life in Spain. His style recalls the work of the second Florentine school of the sixteenth century.

His immediate pupils were Francisco Collantes, Pedro de Obregon, and Francisco Fernandez. The three painters lived during the first half of the sixteenth century, but of the trio Collantes alone is noteworthy. He is one of the few Spaniards who painted landscape for its own sake. His study of "Ezekiel in the Valley of Bones" is the most notable effort of the period; perhaps it is no exaggeration to say that it has more interest than any picture by the lesser masters in the Madrid Gallery. The work reveals original thought; it is not a picture of Italian mannerism. The Italian influence is evident, but the subject is interpreted by a Spanish mind. The Prophet stands in a desolate valley. He is raised upon a pedestal of rock in the act of giving breath to the resuscitated bones. The picture illustrates

[1] Carducci was a prolific worker. He painted fifty-four large pictures for the Carthusians. Two of the studies, "San Bruno," and a "Carthusian Monk kneeling in Prayer before an Altar," are now in the Museo del Prado. For the decoration of Salon de Reyes, in Buen Retiro, he executed a series of historical scenes. Three are in the Museo—"The Relief of Constance," "The Taking of Rheinfeld," and "The Battle of Fleurus." These pictures are not equal in merit to the painter's religious studies; but secular pieces were an innovation in Castile, and the pictures were speedily imitated by the Spanish painters.

the moment when Ezekiel cries to the elements, "Come from the four winds, O breath, and breathe upon these slain, that they may live." The form of the Prophet is strongly imagined, but the most vital feature in the study is the landscape. The trees, the brook, the brown hills, all are well pictured. The figures are supplementary to the scene, rather than the landscape a mere background for the story.[1]

The school of Patricio Caxés, one of the many painters of Philip II., was entirely moulded by the influence of Carducci. The names of many of its members are barely worthy of record. Bartolomé Gonzalez, in 1617, was chosen as the Court-painter in competition with Juan de las Roelas.[2] Antonio Lanchares painted many pictures in the exact style of his school. He died in 1658, and his pictures have mostly perished. The only painter of Patricio's circle who rose to a position of even third-rate merit was Eugenio Caxés, born at Madrid in 1577. In his youth Eugenio worked with his father at the Court, and in 1612 he was appointed one of the king's painters. He executed many pictures for the Alcázar and the churches of the province, and remained in the service of the Court until his death in 1642. Two of his pictures are in the Royal Gallery—"The Repulse of the English at Cadiz" and a study of "San Ildefonso." The first picture was painted for the Buen Retiro. It closely resembles the work of Carducci; the figures are good, but in colour and composition the work is inferior to the battle studies of the Italian. The "San Ildefonso"[3] is

[1] A second landscape by Collantes, of "Moses and the Burning Bush at Horeb," is praised by Sir W. Stirling-Maxwell.

[2] See p. 97.

[3] I remember that this picture reminded me somewhat forcibly of the work of the Andalusian painter, Juan de las Roelas. It is possible that Caxis came under the influence of Roelas, who was in Madrid in 1617, and spent several years in the capital after his rejection as the Court-painter.

different. It is a canvas of fair merit. The colour is good, and bears evidence of Venetian influence.

The provincial schools had many painters during this period. Few of them were free from the bane of Italian convention. In Toledo, Fray Sánchez Cotán, the pupil of Blas del Prado, painted many religious compositions for the Chartreuse monks of El Paular. The pictures are now in the Museo Provincial and the Cartuja of Granada. They are all deeply religious,—scenes from the life of the Virgin and the Passion of Christ, and a series of studies depicting the English Carthusians martyred in 1535 by Henry VIII. In artistic merit the pictures are defective, for the natural power of the painter is clouded by exaggeration. His work is laboured. One never loses the impression that he is striving to achieve the approved manner. In his own time Fray Sánchez Cotán was greatly esteemed. His profound piety appealed to many of his contemporaries. He is lauded by the Spanish historians, and legend relates that the Virgin granted him a special revelation of herself. Vicente Carducci journeyed from Madrid to Granada to meet him, after seeing the beauty of his paintings at El Paular.

In Saragossa and Córdova there were many painters of local fame still working in the old manner; but none have left any permanent impress upon their school. They were all copyists rather than originators, and no purpose will be served in recording their names.

It is left to consider the painters whose utterance hovers between the new manner and the old, workers who remained midway between the counter-impulses of Italianism and naturalism. For this purpose we must return to Andalusia. Seville, the stronghold alike of the naturalistic movement and of the adherents of the old traditions, was also the home of the transition painters. It is difficult to classify these workers. They have much of the temper

of their race, and yet they do not belong to the Spanish naturalists.

Pedro de Moya, the travelling soldier-artist, has little individual interest, and yet he is of moment for the influence he exerted upon the greater workers connected with him. Moya was born in Granada in 1610. While still young he came to Seville, and worked in the studio of Juan del Castillo. But his spirit was restless, and he enlisted and went as a foot-soldier to Flanders. In 1641 Moya was in England, studying under Van Dyck. Six months later Van Dyck died, and Moya returned to Spain. Here he lived until his death in 1666. Moya exerted considerable sway over Murillo and many workers in the Sevillian school.[1] He had imbued something of the spirit of Van Dyck, and in a certain measure he transmitted this influence to his fellow-painters.[2]

Juan de Valdés Leal spent his life in Seville, but he was a native of Córdova, where he studied under the insignificant painter Antonio del Castillo.[3] His master had little influence upon his work. Valdés had an energetic mind; he was Spanish in character, and had inherited much of the national dramatic force. His weakness arose from the jealousy of his temper, a jealousy which drove him into continual conflict with his fellow-craftsmen. He was always striving to vindicate his position as the rival of Murillo. This drove him into absurdities and exaggerations, and many of his religious compositions are obvious imitations of the more successful

[1] See p. 206.

[2] The most interesting picture by Moya is a small "Conception" in the collection of Señor Don Lopéz Cepero. The colour is good, and it is a work of some power.

[3] Professor Carl Justi calls Valdés Leal the pupil of Pedro de Moya, but I can find no corroboration of the statement that he actually studied with Moya, though he was probably influenced by him during the years they were both working at Seville.

La Concepción.

(*The Conception.*)

BY PEDRO DE MOYA.

Murillo. Apart from this weakness, it is possible that Valdés might have been a better painter. His pictures have an element of strength, and yet their merit is second-rate, for they are theatrical and overstrained. His earliest picture, painted in his youth for the Church of the Carmen at Córdova, is in many ways his finest work. The conception is less mannered, and the handling gives promise of a power which never ripened.

Some time before 1658 Valdés came to Seville, for in that year we hear of him working with Murillo to found an Academy of Art for the young painters of Andalusia. For six years Valdés was associated with the Academy. In 1663 he was chosen president for a term of five years, but envy of a rival caused bitter feeling, and in 1666 he resigned all connection with the school. A story told of the painter's treatment of an Academy scholar mirrors for us the warped temper of the man. A young Italian, with fine ability in drawing, came to Seville and desired to enter the Academy. Leal refused to receive him, and would not consent to reverse this decision until compelled by the protector of the institution. The methods of the Italian were a novelty in Seville. He executed heads with a stump of burnt charcoal, and a piece of bread-crumb to indicate the lights and half-tints. His facility and speed aroused the admiration of the young Sevillians, and the Italian's charcoal heads became the chief interest of the *atélier*. Leal was furious, and upon the fourth day he turned the young painter from the Academy. Nor was his jealous temper satisfied with this injustice. The Italian painted two pictures, and exhibited them upon the steps of the cathedral; whereupon Leal threatened his life, and the ill-used pupil had to leave the city.

Valdés was a prolific worker, and Seville abounds with his pictures. Among the best-known are two studies, painted to illustrate the vanity of earthly grandeur, for the Hopital de la Caridad. The first canvas reveals a hand

balancing a pair of scales. All the sins of the world—symbolised by bats, peacocks, and other objects—are weighed against the emblems of Christ's Passion. The second picture is more powerful. Death, with a coffin under one arm, comes to darken a taper, which illumines a table spread with jewels, crowns, and all the gewgaws of earthly state. Circling the gleaming light of the taper are the words "In Ictu Oculi," while an open coffin rests upon the ground, dimly revealing a corpse within. The pictures are theatrical and have little attraction, but the execution is powerful. Murillo remarked that it was necessary to look upon the latter picture with the nostrils closed. "Ah, my compeer," answered Leal, "it is not my fault; you have taken all the sweet fruit out of the basket and left me only the rotten."

The bitterness of Valdés echoes in this remark. All his pictures appear to be efforts to establish his power. Many of his canvases are in the Museo de la Merced. A "Conception" and "Annunciation" are the worst; they are feeble and affected copies of Murillo. Many of the other studies are interesting; a touch of individuality compensates in some measure for the hasty execution and over-emphasised emotion. "The Virgin and the Three Marys with St. John searching for Jesus," is typical of the painter's limitation. The attitudes are strained, and the portrayal of the grief is theatrical; yet the colour is good and the draughtsmanship correct. The figures are alive, and, what is more, they are Spanish. Every canvas in the series of pictures illustrating the legend of San Jerónimo, reveals this curious intermingling of power and exaggeration.[1] Many of the figures are good; in "The Baptism of San Jerónimo" one or two are truly fine; but everywhere is the inevitable imprint of mannerism and excess. The "San Ildefonso receiving the Chasuble from

[1] The pictures were painted for the Jeronymite Convent of Seville.

La Virgen, las tres Marías y San Juan, en busca de Jesús.

(*The Virgin, with the three Marys and St. John, searching for Jesus.*)

BY JUAN DE VALDÉS LEAL.

the Hands of the Virgin," in Seville Cathedral, is somewhat better balanced in composition, but the execution is defective.[1]

Valdés Leal lived until 1691. His last work was a series of pictures for the Church of the Venerables.[2] He left a son, Lucas de Valdés, and two daughters, Doña Maria and Doña Luisa, all of whom were painters. Valdés had many disciples, but their work is without merit; they lived during the decay of the Sevillian school.

It is difficult rightly to estimate the position of Alonso Cano, the greatest of the intermediate workers. Both in his character and in his art he baffles ordinary classification. Of all the painters of his period, he most resisted the influences of his time; not violently, but with a spirit of entire unconsciousness. Cano has been called[3] "the least Spanish of all the painters of Spain." He certainly was not a national painter, and his work exhibits none of the essentially Spanish characteristics. On the other hand, he was in no way allied to the dead formalism of Pacheco, nor to the affected excess of Herrera *el Mozo* and Valdés Leal. His pictures have beauty mingled with their mannerism. They possess a tenderness rarely found in Spanish work. And yet in character Alonso Cano

[1] The light is so dim in the cathedral it is always difficult to judge the pictures that still hang there.

[2] There are two pictures by Valdés in the Madrid Gallery—"Jesus Disputing in the Temple" and "The Presentation of the Child Jesus." Neither canvas is remarkable. An "Assumption of the Virgin," in the National Gallery, is signed "Valdés Leal" on a parchment scroll below the picture. The main drama resembles the "Assumption" at Seville. The figures on either side of the canvas are portraits of the givers of the picture. This canvas was brought from Spain by Capt. the Hon. Frederick Charteris, R.N., and was purchased from his widow in 1887.

[3] M. Ch. Blanc, in his memoir of the artist. He further says that if Cano's works were transported into the proper localities, "they would easily be taken for those of a Lombard."

was not unlike Valdés Leal. He had the same turbulent Spanish temper, the same jealousy of his brother painters. But of this spirit his work bears no evidence. His gentle Madonnas and sweet child Christs witness none of the turmoil of his life. Thus Alonso Cano remains apart, an eclectic who defies analysis, only linked to the latter mannerists by the fact that his work is Italian, and not Spanish, in its inspiration.

Cano was born at Granada in 1601. His father, Miguel, was a carver of retablos, and with him the young Alonso worked until Juan del Castillo noticed the boy's talent and advised the family to remove to Seville, that he might receive further training. For eight months Alonso worked with Pacheco; he then entered the studio of his friend Castillo. Neither of his masters can have taught him much. There is a tradition that he studied for a time with the elder Herrera; but the real training of Cano was his early work, carving with his father. He was perhaps greater as a sculptor than as a painter. His small exquisitely coloured figures of carved wood are unapproachable in delicacy; they are "gems of polychrome sculpture."[1]

Cano had some measure of the antique spirit. Whatever may be the estimate of his accomplishment, his inspiration was the ideal. Many of his compositions draw nearer to the Italian in their inspiration than any other Spanish paintings. Yet Cano never left Spain, and his acquaintance with Italian models must have been meagre; all that could have trained his taste were the antique marbles in the Casa Pilatos, the beautiful mansion of the Dukes of Alcalá.[2]

Yet, if Cano's art was Italian, his character was very

[1] Carl Justi.

[2] Palomino states that the painter's style was founded on these antique treasures. The Casa of Pilatos was ever open to all students. There Cano learned what no other Spaniard acquired.

Spanish. A profusion of incidents have been recorded which reflect the stormy nature of the painter. The story of the Auditor of the Chancery of Granada may be taken as a sample.

The great man desired a statue of St. Anthony of Padua. Cano demanded in payment a hundred doubloons. This price seemed excessive to the Oidor, and he asked Cano how much time he had expended in executing the statue.

"Some five-and-twenty days," Cano replied.

"Well," remarked the Oidor, "that comes to four doubloons for each day——" He was not suffered to say more.

"Your lordship calculates wrongly," Cano exclaimed. "Fifty years have I passed in learning to mould such a statue in twenty-five days."

The Oidor was not satisfied. "That is all very well," he told the artist; "but here am I, Oidor of Granada. I have spent my patrimony and youth in acquiring a higher profession than yours, and if I can get a doubloon——"

He proceeded no further.

"Higher profession, indeed!" Cano cried, lurid with passion. "The King can make judges out of the dust of the earth, but it is reserved for God to make an Alonso Cano,"[1] and he dashed the St. Anthony into a thousand fragments.

The irritability of Cano's temperament was manifested by a curious antipathy for Jews. If he met one in the street he would cross the road; if one by accident touched his cloak, he would immediately send for another garment. He once turned with fury upon his servant for suggesting that "it had only been the slightest touch and did not matter." "Not matter, you scurrilous scoundrel!" Alonso

[1] It will be remembered that the same answer was given by Philip II. when the Canons of Granada opposed the election of Cano. It is possible that the stories have been confused.

cried; "I tell you in such things as these everything matters." Upon another day he found that, in his absence, his house-servant had permitted a Jew to find his way into the kitchen. His passion was unbounded, and he refused to enter until the whole house had been cleansed, blessed, and purified.

The life of such a man was not likely to be tranquil. A duel with an able contemporary painter, Sebastian de Llanos y Valdés, compelled him to leave Seville in 1637.[1] For some years he made his home in Madrid, where he gained the protection of the Minister Olivares, through his friendship with Velazquez. In 1639 he was entrusted with control of all work executed in the royal palaces, and some years later he was appointed drawing-master to the Infant Don Baltazar Carlos. After the murder of his wife in 1644, Cano was once more a fugitive. For a time he obtained sanctuary in the Chartreuse Convent of Portacœli, near Valencia; then he came under the power of the torturers of the Inquisition, but was saved by the mediation of the king.[2] For a short period he returned to Madrid, where he organised the decorations erected to welcome Queen Mariana in 1648. He worked at Toledo, carving for the Chapter of the cathedral, and in 1651 he retired to his native city of Granada, where the king appointed him to a canonry. There was some trouble about his occupying his seat. He failed to take his Orders within the prescribed time, and the monks, glad of this excuse, objected to his appointment. Alonso appealed to the king, and after some delay the monks yielded, and he was restored to his canonry. Here he remained until he died in 1667.

Two entries of deep interest still exist in the register

[1] See p. 267.

[2] One tradition relates that he was freed because he endured the torture in silence, a fact that was supposed to establish his innocence.

of Granada. The first orders that five hundred *reals* shall be paid to the Canon Cano, "he being sick and very poor, and without means to pay the doctor;" the second notice commands that two hundred *reals* shall be added to the above amount, "at the suggestion of the archdeacon, to buy him poultry and sweetmeats."

A story of the artist's death-scene is worth recording. The priest called to offer the extreme unction to the dying Cano was accustomed to labour among the penitent Jews. The sick man recognised the priest. "Go, Señor Licenciado," he cried, "go with God, and do not trouble to call again. The priest who administers the Sacraments to Jews shall not administer them to me."

A fresh priest was summoned. The new-comer tried to place an ill-carved crucifix in the hands of Cano. The painter impatiently pushed it aside.

"My son," gently remonstrated the priest, "what dost thou mean? This is the Lord who redeemed thee, and must save thee."

"I know all that well," was the answer of Cano; "but do you want to provoke me with this wretched, ill-wrought thing, in order to give me over to the devil?"

Cano's pictures are marked by a want of individual virility. He continually repeated his types. He had few motives, and these he used again and again. Often he copied largely from the works of other painters. This repetition and plagiarism accounts for the limitation of the painter's expression. His pictures always please the eye, yet they never entirely satisfy. One wearies of his art, for Cano was a copyist rather than an original depictor. Often his brush-work is unsolid; many of his forms are superficial, and his colour, although generally good, is not guiltless of a misuse of tone. In fine, the more deeply we study the work of Alonso Cano the less possible becomes conscientious praise; and this is true in spite of the

charm of his work—a charm that has caused many critics to include him among the greatest of the Spanish painters.[1]

In the Altar de la Virgén de Belén of Seville Cathedral is a "Virgin and Child," the most beautiful of Cano's conceptions.[2] Possibly the treatment is stereotyped; yet the tenderness of the picture conveys a definite charm. The hands and feet are painted with infinite care, and the crimson robe and deep blue mantle of Mary are exquisite in colour. It is one of the sweetest holy studies painted by a Spanish artist.

Akin to this work in spirit is "The Madonna of the Rosary" in Malaga Cathedral. Again the hands and feet are painted with special care. A series of pictures decorating the dome of Granada Cathedral are painted with more vigour. The pictures illustrate the Annunciation, Conception, Nativity, Presentation, Visitation, Purification, and Ascension of Mary. All the figures are coarsely painted to allow for the height from which they are intended to be viewed. From below the effect is striking.

The ten pictures by the painter in the Museo del Prado show both the merit and limitation of his work. All the scenes are scriptural except two portraits of the Gothic kings—fat and grotesque little figures, with a certain naïve humour. Companion studies of "The Virgin ador-

[1] Sir Edmund Head, in his *Handbook of the History of Painting in Spain*, says: "Few Spanish painters are more remarkable." Again, he calls him "A great painter," and says: "The execution of his figures is full of sentiment and tenderness, without being feeble or affected." Sir W. Stirling-Maxwell calls him "The last of the great painters of Spain." William Scott, in his *Murillo and the Spanish School of Painters*, writes: "He had in his mind the ideal spirit of Greek art;" while M. Viardot compares Cano to Michael Angelo, on account of the versatility of his genius.

[2] This picture was not painted in Seville. It was executed at Malaga for Don Andrés Cascentes, who gave it to Seville.

La Virgen Contemplando á su divino Hijo.

(The Virgin Gazing upon her Son.)

BY ALONSO CANO.

ing the Child Christ" symbol the spirit of Cano. The feeling in the work is very tender, and the dark-haired Madonna is a conception of considerable beauty. "St. John writing the Apocalypse"[1] is perhaps the most individual conception. A "Crucifixion" and a small "Christ at the Column" are both good; but the strongest studies are a "Dead Christ" and "San Jerónimo Penitente." In the first scene an angel covers the body of the Saviour with his hovering wings; in the St. Jerome a heavenly messenger proclaims the resurrection of the dead. The head of the saint is fine. Both pictures have the tenderness of Cano. All his work misses greatness, but still it has charm.[2]

It is impossible even to name the numberless pictures that Alonso Cano painted. He was an assiduous worker. When weary of his brush, it was his custom to find rest by using the chisel. Upon one occasion a friend remonstrated with him, and urged him to seek refreshment in inaction.

Cano's answer was characteristic:

"Blockhead! don't you perceive that to create form and relief on a flat surface is a greater labour than to fashion one shape into another?"

Cano died in 1667. He had more power than any of the Italian-Spanish painters. His pictures are a strange intermingling of beauty, tenderness, and affectation. One would like to remember a head, a tender pose, a beautiful tone, or a landscape vista, and to ignore all that is left. It is possible that these touches of sweetness and grace are the true Cano, and that all the mannerism is an

[1] This picture was painted by Cano for the Cartuja of Portacœli, in recompense for their shelter during the time he was a fugitive.

[2] The remaining pictures by Cano in the Museo del Prado are a second rendering of "The Crucifixion," and a characteristic study, "San Benito Abad absorbed in the contemplation of the Divine Hipóstasis."

incrustation, a superadded growth that clouds his inherent talent.

Cano's influence upon his period, though powerful, was transitory. The insincerity of his art necessitated its death. He had many disciples, but he founded no permanent school, and the strongest of his pupils abandoned his affectation for the stronger impulse of realism.

CHAPTER X.

THE PIONEERS OF THE SPANISH NATURALISTIC SCHOOL —LATE SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES.

WE now approach the great epoch of Spanish painting. All the utterance of her artists through six centuries of effort is but the prelude to this period of natural creation. At length we come to a group of painters whose art is wholly Spanish, men who were unconscious of the dual servitude to Crown and Church. In many instances their efforts are still tentative, and their work is often surrounded by limitations; but it was the native strength of these early naturalists that freed the art of Spain from the yoke of Italianism.

Such an awakening was inevitable. But in Spain the æsthetic re-birth tarried long, for the vigour of her painters' inherent instincts was lulled by the power of an alien ascendency, and by the depth of the approved religious ideal. Yet a new sentiment had arisen among the cultured, while slowly there dawned in the minds of the Spanish painters the realisation that art was in itself an end. No longer were pictures painted solely as educational instruments of the Church, or as adulatory memorials of royalty. Conventional treatment and prescribed themes were alike abandoned, and the painter began to delight in the varied common objects that surrounded him in his daily life. It now became his foremost desire to rend his inspiration immediately from Nature, without regard to the approval of State or Church.

And yet this instinct for rational interpretation was no sudden growth in the art record of Spain. Throughout the centuries the naturalistic tendency had been unconsciously evolving, and the new truth was the fruit of seed long sown by many workers. It was in vain Pacheco strove to fetter the freedom of the Andalusian painters. His rules and condemnations, his carefully-planned *Arte de la Pintura* were the message of the culture that was fading. The compromise between religion and art was weakened, and painting refused to remain solely the handmaid of the Church. With this change a new power came to the Spanish painters; no longer did they mould their art upon the standards of foreign masters. This new personality made them strong to found a national school.

In their inherent nature the Spanish artists were at all times realists. The wasting of the religious motive, and the corresponding discovery of the naturalness of art, were due to that individual note which had been clouded, but never wholly lost, in the work of all her painters. It will be remembered how even the early missal illuminators of the tenth and eleventh centuries delighted in detail, and how they introduced a strange medley of common objects into both their sacred and historical scenes. They painted each accessory with curious exactness. Their feeling for portraiture was strong, though rudimental, while their dramatic sense was expressed in their love of depicting their nation's history. Throughout the Gothic period this dwelling upon fact, this instinct for detail never failed, indeed it gained in strength from the Flemish influence. It was the one trait that was never crushed by the affectation of Italianism. All the earlier mannerists were in some measure Spanish painters. The personal distinctiveness of Luis de Vargas Campaña, Morales, and Juan de Juanes was never overclouded. This national personality was still more manifest during

the Venetian epoch. Navarette incurred the censure of the Church for the secular interludes with which he illumined his scriptural compositions. The truth of his landscape-backgrounds reveal a growing desire to imitate Nature. Juan de las Roelas was a realist in much of his work, while the genius of Dominico Theotocópuli was his vindication of individual impression. It was the same with those painters who worked within the precincts of the Court. Sincerity was the strongest characteristic of the Spanish portrait-painters. Even the later mannerists were not wholly void of the indelible stamp of Spanish individuality. The faults of Valdés Leal arose largely from his desire to establish his personality. Then, the eclectic Alonso Cano mingled the Spanish manner with his Italian style. A predisposition for fact — an appreciation of the actual rather than of the ideal, was the pervading spirit of Spanish art.

This brief retrospect of the Spanish painters was necessary to illuminate the fact that the naturalistic movement was, in Spain, no sudden or abnormal outgrowth. It was the fruit of the national character. The evolution of the national spirit was the work of six centuries of painters.

Herrera, *el viego*, the pioneer of the Spanish realists, must not be called "the creator of the modern Spanish school."[1] Rather, he stands as the revival of all that was truly Spanish in the art which preceded his own. Herrera was no creator of a new manifestation; he simply

[1] This term is frequently applied to Herrera by the Spanish writers. Professor Carl Justi writes of him: "Herrera is often looked upon by the Spaniards as the originator of their national style, on account of the breadth and 'fury' of his brush." The writer of the *Handbook of Spanish Painting* says, "He was the first who introduced into the school that bold and vigorous touch which was to characterise Velazquez."

discarded the Italianising influence, and painted in the national manner.[1]

It was the personality of Herrera which enabled him to give a voice to the impulse of his age. The tradition of his life reveals a character of extraordinary vigour. He was born in Seville in 1576, where he studied with the academics Pacheco and Juan del Castillo, in the school of Luis Fernandez. Herrera owes nothing to his training. From his youth his methods were eccentric. His whole energy was bent to realise some fresh aspect of Nature. His aim was to solve the technical difficulties of his art. Possibly this effort was instinctive. Herrera's utterance was always a strong motive, rather than an intended effort. His interpretation of Nature was moulded by his Spanish character. He is known for "the fury" of his handling, and his brush was a veritable whirlwind of impulse.

Herrera's fame gathered many pupils to his studio, but few remained, for the genius of his teaching could not compensate for the violence of his passion. Blows and ill-usage drove his son to Rome, and sent his daughter into the sanctuary of the convent. Many a stick was broken upon the heads and backs of his pupils, and it was no uncommon circumstance for the irascible master to be left with no attendant to prepare his canvases. It is said that one day, when his studio was empty of his disciples, he rushed into the kitchen and forced the serving-wench to become his assistant. Amidst a fury of language and blows, he compelled the frightened girl to use her sweeping broom to paint the first washes of his picture.

Such stories are freely recorded by the Spanish writers

[1] Lord Leighton epitomises this view in his Academy Address before referred to. He says: "More stoutly perhaps than any other he [Herrera] resisted the foreign spirit and transmitted the old territorial grit and temper."

of the turbulent temper of the elder Herrera. Doubtless many of them have their origin in fable; yet their presence proves the cogent individuality of the man who re-established the Spanish national style.

It must not be expected that Herrera's painting was in any way perfect. His work is full of faults. This was inevitable. These painters, imbued with a spirit of restless search, were like explorers in untrodden realms. Of necessity they made mistakes. The great cry of their art was an appeal to experience. We must expect that their attainment will be imperfect—that their work will be marred by many artistic sins. Our admiration is not for what they accomplished, but for the power of their aspiration. It was their manifold effort that prepared the way for the greater achievement of Zurbarán, Ribera, and Murillo, and for the final completion of Velazquez.

Possibly the greatest power of Herrera was his comprehension of the beauty of the human body. This knowledge, of supreme difficulty to a people shadowed by the Inquisition, he fully realised. His desire was to minutely imitate the actual forms of men and women. The picture of "El Juicio Final," still in its original site in the Parroquina de San Bernardo,[1] of Seville, heralds the new age dawning in Spanish painting. Dirty and neglected, the canvas hangs in the old church, where the light is so dim that tapers are needed to see the work adequately. In the higher section of the picture stands the Christ amid bands of accompanying angels, while beneath, St. Michael divides the holy from the unrighteous. The figures, and especially the host of the sinful, are drawn with a fine freedom of handling. Many of the forms are hurled upon the canvas, almost as if in contempt for the prettiness and pietism that had controlled the artistic ideals of the pseudo-Italianists. Possibly the composition

[1] The parish church in the suburb of Bernardo.

is overcrowded; the figure of St. Michael is almost ludicrous in its uncouth originality. But in the foreground rests a fine nude female form, a protest against the restrictions that had fettered Spanish art.

Like all Spanish[1] painters, Herrera delighted in depicting pomp. He had a dramatic instinct for the grouping of contrasting figures. Take, for instance, his "Apoteosis de San Hermenegildo," in the Museo of Seville. The death of the favoured saint of Andalusia was a theme to charm the histrionic imagination of Herrera. Hermenegild, clad in a cuirass of blue steel and a flowing mantle of rich red, rises to heaven in a flood of glowing light. Two angels bear the axe and chain and other symbols of his martyrdom. In the mid-distance groups of cherubs hover, waiting to crown the ascending spirit with flowers. Beneath the saint are ranged a group of strongly contrasted figures. Saints Isidore and Leander, robed in emblazoned pontifical dresses, watch the transit of the martyr. Beside St. Isidore stands a boy king, the son of Hermenegild. The saint directs the child's gaze to the heavenly glory of his father. Near by kneels Leovigilde, brother of Hermenegild and King of the Visigoths, his face hidden in sorrow; for Leovigilde had killed his brother for his defection from the Arian faith.

A story is recorded about the painting of this picture. Herrera had been accused of coining money, and to escape punishment he sought sanctuary in the College of the Jesuits. Here he painted his picture of St. Hermenegild in 1624. Shortly after the work was completed, Philip IV. came to Seville and visited the college. The King saw Herrera's picture, and at once recognised its merit. He demanded that the artist should be summoned. Herrera

[1] Here, as in many other places, I use the term *Spanish* painters, to designate the artists who painted in the Spanish spirit.

knelt at Philip's feet and told him the reason of his confinement in the college. "Go; you are free," was the answer of the King. "What need of silver and gold has a man gifted with a talent like yours?"

After this incident Herrera had no connection with the King. Once we hear of his being in Madrid, but he was never employed to paint for the Court, and by a remarkable omission there is no picture of his in the Royal Gallery of the capital.

Herrera painted comparatively few pictures. Seville has only one other large composition, the "Visión de San Basilio," a fine instance of the painter's power of rendering ecclesiastical drapery.[1] The saint's robes are magnificent. With a countenance wrapped in adoration he gazes towards the sky, ablaze with the companies of heaven. Eight studies of single saints are guarded in the Seville Museo. The figures are very life-like, and the faces are all distinctive. "San Pedro Sebaste" is a decorative portrait head, while "Santa Dorotea" is a good study of a woman. The convent church of San Buenaventura still has some faded fresco work of the painter's. Four fine compositions, painted for the Franciscans, have been carried away from Spain. One of these studies is in the Louvre. It is a picture of vigorous execution, in which every figure is painted with remarkable truth. St. Basil sits and dictates his doctrine to a company of monks. A cowled brother, sitting slightly in the background upon the right, has a face it is not easy to forget.

Little has been said bearing directly upon the technical quality of Herrera's painting. This point seemed of small import in the light of the truth of his conception; for

[1] The picture was painted for the Church of San Basilo, but the canvas now hangs beside the "San Hermenegildo" in Seville Museo. Both pictures suffer from the bad light in which they are hung. This bad light has rendered it impossible to obtain a good photograph of the pictures.

Herrera's message is evolutionary rather than individual. The manipulation of his brush-work and the rendering of his tones are at times faulty. His drawing is always good, but his work is often burdened with an over-emphasised naturalism and a too evident striving for technical advancement. Once or twice his originality verges towards extravagance. His painting bears no trace of artificial mimicry, and his whole work is executed in the new, free, generous manner. In a word, Herrera's painting is Spanish.

The naturalistic impetus was not confined to Seville. An instinct for truth of conception, a longing for freer interpretation, was widespread in every centre of Spanish culture. In Valencia the outgrowth, though less national, was almost equal in power to the movement in Andalusia. But for a moment we must leave the history of this second great centre of the Spanish *Naturalisti*, while we glance very briefly at the work of one or two lesser painters who felt in some measure the sway of the new purpose.[1]

In Toledo the genius of El Greco was still powerful, and two of his pupils, Fray Juan Bautista Mayno and Luis Tristan, continued the message of their master. Mayno was born at Toledo in 1569. He painted many pictures for the Chapter of the city and for the Convent of San Pedro Mártir. These works are extravagantly praised by Cean Bermudez and Palomino, the latter writer speaking of them as "stupendous and amazing."[2] Later in his life Mayno went to Madrid, where he was made royal

[1] No detailed history of the many minor painters of the period will be attempted. Every master had numerous scholars, but the mere repetition of their names can have little profit. Only those workers will be mentioned who in some degree, however slight, influenced the contemporary growth of their schools.

[2] These adjectives are very common with Palomino, a writer who allows his national zeal to outweigh his critical discernment.

painter and drawing-master to the young prince, Philip III.[1] He died at the capital in 1649. Mayno's greatest work was executed at Toledo while still living in the inspiration of El Greco. A battle-piece, depicting the recovery of a Flemish province, painted for the Palace of the Buen Retiro, and now in the Royal Gallery, has little to distinguish it. The heads are life-like, but many of the attitudes are constrained, while the colour is poor. Far more characteristic of Mayno is a second picture, which was brought from the Convent of San Pedro Mârtir. It is a study of the "Adoration of the Kings," and a work of power, although the rendering is hard and somewhat crude. A ruined temple is shown, penetrated by the light of the star-of-guiding. Mary sits upon a stone seat with her babe upon her knee, while Joseph stands in the background. El Niño Jesus blesses the most venerable of the kings, who stands before him. The two remaining worshippers kneel and offer their gifts to the Child.[2] When these pictures were first brought to Madrid "they astonished connoisseurs by their striking resemblance to the first style of Caravaggio."[3]

Mayno's fellow-scholar, Luis Tristan, has an interest distinctive from his personal success. It was his work that transmitted the spirit of El Greco to Velazquez. We know that Velazquez praised Tristan's paintings, and in his youth was to some extent influenced by them. Tristan was but the follower of his master; thus he remains the link, uniting the tentative genius of El Greco to the accomplishment of his great successor. For the judgment that Tristan excelled El Greco—that "he equalled his master

[1] It was Mayno who brought Alonso Cano to the notice of Philip.

[2] The companion pictures, the "Birth of the Saviour" and the "Coming of the Holy Spirit," were, unfortunately, placed in the Ministerio del Fomento (the old National Museum) instead of being hung in the Prado Museo.

[3] Professor Carl Justi.

while avoiding his faults"[1]—is wholly erroneous. Tristan was without Theotocópuli's creative genius. He was a careful and intelligent worker, specially skilful in his method of chiaroscuro, but he was not a great painter. He carried forward the realistic tradition, he did not create it, nor did he materially add to its significance.

Tristan was born in a little village near Toledo, in 1586. He early entered the service of El Greco, and when only nineteen painted his altar-piece for the monks of La Sisla.[2] His most noted work is the series of pictures forming the high altar of the church of Yepes.[3] The altar is erected in three tiers, and in each are two pictures. Studies of the "Adoration of the Shepherds" and of the "Kings" decorate the lower storey; in the centre are "Christ at the Column" and "Christ bearing the Cross"; while the third stage contains the "Resurrection" and the "Ascension." Eight half-length studies of saints are ranged around these central conceptions. These saintly likenesses are specially good, for Tristan excelled in portraiture. His likeness of Cardinal Bernardo de Sandoval, painted for the Chapter of Toledo in 1619, is very fine. The face of the ecclesiastic, his grey beard, his decorated robe, the jewels of his mitre, his rings, made rich with ruby and emerald stones, are all painted with truth and power. Tristan passed his whole life at Toledo, where he died in 1640. There is one portrait by Tristan in the Museo del Prado, a likeness of an old man with a ruff of fine white linen to lighten the face.

While El Greco's scholars worked in Toledo, two disciples of Alonso Cano[4] urged forward the realistic

[1] *Illustrated Handbook of Spanish Art*, founded upon Sir W. Stirling-Maxwell's estimate of Tristan.

[2] See p. 105.

[3] A small place near Toledo.

[4] Sir W. Stirling-Maxwell mentions a certain Josef Riseño as "the ablest scholar of Cano." Riseño gained a good local reputation in

impulse in Granada. Fray Antanasio Bocanegra[1] and Juan Escalante de Sevilla[2] selected the best attributes of their master. They were untouched by his eclecticism, and their pictures are natural and Spanish.

Bocanegra was a prolific painter, and his numerous pictures are of unequal power. In his best studies the figures are strong and well drawn, while his rendering of the Virgin is always fine. Many of his pictures are in Granada. "The Holy Family resting as they Journey into Egypt"[3] is very beautiful. The Royal Gallery has one picture by Bocanegra, a study of "Mary, with the *Niño* Jesus, adored by John the Baptist and Santa Ana."

Juan de Sevilla was more mobile in his art than his fellow-worker, and there is a greater variety in the rendering of his Madonnas and Christs. His draughtsmanship is less strong, but his work shows a fuller understanding of the value of light and shade, for Escalante was a fine colourist. His tones are full and rich, and his pictures are often interesting from their effects in lighting. His finest work is in the Cathedral of Granada. "The Martyrdom of St. Cecilia" and "San Bernardo visited by the Virgin," in the Capilla Mayor, are studies of considerable merit. The beauty of the pictures arises from the truth of their lighting and from the depth of their colour. Many of his scriptural studies recall the early work of Murillo. Perhaps this affinity is

his own day, and is praised by the Spanish writers; but his work has little merit, and he exercised no lasting influence upon the school of Granada.

[1] The date of Bocanegra's birth is unknown; he died in 1688.

[2] Juan de Sevilla's full name was Juan de Sevilla Romero y Escalante. He was born at Córdova in 1627, and died at Madrid in 1695. Some critics say he was the pupil of Pedro de Moya before he came to Granada, where he was certainly connected with Alonso Cano.

[3] Carl Justi speaks of this picture as "a work of ineffable charm."

strongest in "The Holy Family," a beautiful rendering of the subject, in the Ante Sacristía.

Córdova never produced many painters, but at this time Antonio de Castillo y Saavedra revived the tradition of the school, dispelling the apathy in which it had remained since the death of Pablo de Céspedes. Saavedra was born at Córdova in 1603. He received his training at Seville, where he worked directly from nature. He was one of the few Spanish artists to study landscape; often he sketched in the fields, and his most noteworthy pictures are his landscapes with historical accessories. It is commonly reported that Saavedra envied the power of Murillo, and tried to repeat his style;[1] but of this imitation his work affords no evidence, for Saavedra's power rested in the strength of his figures and in the vigour of his handling. His Bible scenes are executed in the *genre* spirit. Every detail is painted in a homely and intimate manner. In colour Saavedra's gift was inferior, a fact he was not unconscious of, for we are told he went to Granada for the purpose of studying colour with Alonso Cano. Saavedra died in his native town in 1667. Most of his pictures are in the Museo of Córdova. The "Denial of St. Peter" is the most interesting. There is a good study by Saavedra in the Royal Gallery of Madrid. It shows Mary and her Child, adored by a family of shepherds. The chiaroscuro is vigorous, the lights and shadows being well distinguished. There is a want of depth and fulness in the colour, but the figures are life-like, and the rendering is singularly real. A picture signed by the painter is treasured in the collection of Don López Cepero at Seville. It is a pastoral study, finely realised. The landscape is very true to nature, and both the figures and the cattle are strongly painted. Such

[1] It has even been said that his inferiority to the Sevillian master so preyed upon his mind that it caused his death.

A Pastoral Scene.

BY ANTONIO DE CASTILLO Y SAAVEDRA.

scenes were not often rendered by the Spanish artists, thus the interest of the canvas is great. Saavedra was overshadowed by Murillo, and his work has never received the notice it merits.

Thus in Toledo, Granada, and Córdova the purpose of realism was growing. In Madrid all lesser effort was shadowed by Velazquez.[1] The school of Aragon alone had, as yet, no powerful national painter.[2] Everywhere the ideal of truth was palpitating with new vitality and power.

We have said that the naturalistic movement in Valencia was not wholly a national growth. From its very birth the Valencian school was strongly swayed by Italy, and although pseudo-Italianism never triumphed as it did in Andalusia, it was still the tradition of the province that her artists should receive their training in Rome.

Francisco Ribalta, the earliest of the Valencian realists, studied in Italy. It is true that Ribalta was not Italianised, and no mannerism is visible in his pictures. His work is always Spanish in its essence, and the subject he most often painted was the life of San Vicente de Ferrer, the patron saint of Valencia—in fine, the abundant personality of the Spanish race is never clouded in Ribalta's work. Yet there is something of the eclectic spirit in this pioneer of Valencian naturalism. Ribalta is said to have studied with Annibale Caracci, and in his pictures we can trace the tendencies of the school of Bologna—that blending of realism and imitation when the painter studies nature but finds his models in the works of the great masters. If Ribalta's

[1] The contemporaries of Velazquez will be noted in a later chapter.

[2] The only painter of the period was Jusepe Martinez (1612-82). He was an industrious worker, and wrote a book on painting, but his pictures are of little moment.

conception was of Spain, his execution was moulded by his Italian training.[1]

A story told of young Ribalta manifests the influence of his Italian visit. The boy-painter loved the daughter of his master,[2] but his talent was estimated so lightly that the union was not sanctioned. Disappointed, Ribalta journeyed to Italy. After two or three years of strenuous study, he returned to Valencia, where he entered the studio of his aforetime master. No one was present, but a half-painted sketch of a head was resting upon an easel. Ribalta finished the portrait with complete mastery, and then withdrew. The amazed painter gazed at his picture, and in wonder asked his daughter who among his pupils had talent to paint like that. "This is the painter that shall marry thee," the artist is reported to have cried; "not that poor bungler[3] Ribalta, who never knew how to paint."

[1] It is instructive to note the opinion of critics upon Ribalta's style. He has been called "the Spanish Domenichino and Sebastian del Piombo combined" (Richard Ford's *Handbook*). When Palomino comments upon Ribalta's reported indebtedness to the school of the Caracci, he writes: "It is more true that his style was founded upon a study of Raphael." To prove his theory he tells us that, when the young Spaniard arrived in Rome, he showed a "Crucifixion" he had executed "to one of the best painters of that time" (Palomino refrains from mentioning the name). The historian tells us that the Italian, in "a transport of admiration, cried, 'O divino Raffaello!' concluding the picture to be drawn by Raphael." Another writer (in the *Illustrated Handbook of Spanish Painting*) compares one of Ribalta's pictures to "a style between Titian and Vandyck," another to Titian, and a third to Sebastian del Piombo; while Professor Carl Justi says that the retablo at Carcagente, a little town twenty-five miles from Valencia, "shows he was familiar with Correggio and Schidone." Lastly, the catalogue of the Museo del Prado says, "he was not inferior to the greatest of the great Italian masters."

[2] An unimportant painter of Valencia.

[3] The actual word used was *bisoño*, which means undisciplined, a raw recruit, and thence a bungler or dauber.

Los Evangelistas San Juan y San Mateo.

(The Evangelists St. John and St. Matthew.)

Ribalta had the "broad manner" of the Italians. He was the first Spaniard who fully comprehended the tone-giving power of light and shade; for Ribalta was born shortly after 1550,[1] and was thus the earliest, although not the most national, of the Spanish naturalists. His chiaroscuro was strong and simple, and he often intensified the roundness of his figures by throwing a strong reflection of light upon one side of the canvas. Ribalta was an excellent draughtsman, and his figures are always well modelled. He delighted in foreshortening, and his attitudes are at times remarkable. It is here we trace the influence of Correggio; indeed, we often discern an echo of some Italian master in the pose of one of Ribalta's figures, in an arrangement of his drapery, or in one of his colour effects. Yet once more must be emphasised the fact that Ribalta was very Spanish. He has the, almost overcharged, dramatic expression of his race. He has none of the Italian sweetness, none of the Italian beauty. His painting is passionate and virile, the true utterance of his Spanish temper.

The Madrid Gallery has six of Ribalta's pictures. Two simple presentments of heads, called "A Soul in Glory" and "A Soul in Punishment," are grand in their force and reality. "The Dead Christ in the Arms of two Angels," "St. Francis of Assisi consoled by an Angel," and "Christ Crucified," are fine scenes of sacred asceticism. The remaining picture is a study of the Evangelists St. John and St. Matthew.

It is in Valencia that Ribalta can best be studied. In the museo and churches of his native province we appreciate the spirit of the master. There his work

[1] The exact date is not known. It was some time between 1550 and 1560. Ribalta's birthplace was Castellón de la Plana, a small town on the Valencian sea-border. Few incidents are recorded of his life.

surrounds us, and there alone we can realise his distinctive power.

Ribalta's rendering of the Virgin has great strength. In all his pictures he shows her a sorrowful woman, yet of sublime dignity. His conception of the child Christ, in "The Holy Family" of the Iglesia del Corpus Christi,[1] is very beautiful. A "Crucifixion" and several studies of the Saviour in the Museo, all reveal the nobility of the painter's ideal. Fanatic exaltation is dramatically depicted in "St. Francis embracing the Crucified Saviour" and the "Death-bed of San Vicente de Ferrer."[2] In the last picture the saint is comforted by the presence of Christ and a band of holy men. His face has great dignity and beauty. Ribalta had a fine power of individual characterisation. The heads of the disciples in his representation of "The Last Supper" are life-like portraits.[3] The figures sit grouped around a table covered with a white cloth, upon which nothing rests except a plate of bread and the sacred Chalice of Valencia.[4] Many studies of saints are powerfully painted, and in the museum there is a living portrait-sketch oi a man.

The execution of all the pictures is vigorous, and the work is very interesting. Possibly we admire the painter's work more for its aim than for its achievement. In common with most pioneer effort, the result is tentative rather than accomplished. There is a reserve of strength in Ribalta's utterance, and his very failure is not without

1 The church attached to the Colegio del Patriarca. Richard Ford speaks of this building as "the place where Ribalta is properly to be estimated."

2 The first picture is in the Museo and the second in the Iglesia del Corpus Christi.

3 There are two representations of "The Last Supper," one in the Museo and the other in the Iglesia.

4 See p. 84.

a meaning. We catch the foretaste of greater future fulfilment in the magnificent virility with which he strives for truth of expression.

Ribalta died in 1628. For many years he directed the painting of his province, and a group of secondary, but distinguished, painters gathered in his school.[1] His son, Juan de Ribalta, so closely followed his father's manner that often their work is undistinguishable.[2] When only eighteen[3] he painted his large study of the "Crucifixion," now in the Museo of Valencia. It is a work of singular merit, with forcible grouping and distinct chiaroscuro. Juan de Ribalta died in 1628, a few months after his father, Francisco. Had he lived, it is probable he would have risen above imitation and achieved a more personal expression. The rapidity of his execution gave freshness to his work, and his secular studies are not without originality. He was a skilful portrait-painter; all his likenesses are individual and true. The picture in the Museo del Prado of a musician holding a quire of music in his hand is a clever study.

The versatile and prolific Jacinto Jerónimo de Espinosa was the disciple of Ribalta. He was born in 1600, at the little town of Cocentaina, in the kingdom of Valencia. Espinosa belonged to a family of artists, and as a boy he worked with his father, Rodriguez. His talent developed early, and he was sent to study in the studio of Ribalta. Here the young painter's style was moulded. It is probable that he travelled in Italy, but his work never ceased to reflect the manner of his Valencian master. Espinosa was an excellent draughtsman, and he had Ribalta's power in rendering light and shade. His colours are laid on with a broad and free brush. In all

[1] His great pupil Ribera will be studied in a later chapter.

[2] Francisco's pictures in the Museo del Prado were formerly catalogued as the work of his son.

[3] Juan de Ribalta was born in 1597.

his pictures the figures are full of an almost bewildering energy. Many of his compositions suffer from want of reserve and restraint. They are clever and pleasing, but the tendency is towards excess, and in some of his studies there is a strange blending of grandeur and vulgarity.

Espinosa painted numerous pictures for the convents and churches of Valencia. Many of these works are now gathered in the Provencial Museo. The "Communion of Mary Magdalene" is perhaps the finest. Both the figures are well conceived. The Magdalene, her dark hair hanging in flowing streams, kneels as she receives the Eucharist from a priest, robed in glowing crimson. "Christ appearing to San Pedro Nolasco" and "The Death of San Luis Beltrán" are Ribaltaesque in manner. The manipulation of the latter scene is masterly.

Three pictures by Espinosa have been brought to Madrid. "Mary Magdalene in Prayer"[1] has a certain grand power. It is the finest of the painter's works. A study of "St. John with the Lamb" shows the warm red-brown shadows by which it is often easy to recognise the work of Espinosa. In the third picture we see "Christ at the Column." The Saviour is painted in the act of recovering his vestments after his scourging by the Jews.

Espinosa died in 1680. He was aided in his work by his son Miguel, a painter who never attained individual merit. Valencia produced many artists of minor ability during these years—painters more noteworthy for the number of their canvases than for the merit of their work. Such were the brothers Zariñenas, the producers of many indifferent canvases that still crowd the Museo and

[1] In the catalogue of the Museo del Prado is written after this picture, "Imitation of Van Dyck." It is remarkable that, when a Spanish work of art is greatly valued, it is often referred to foreign inspiration. Many Spanish critics never realised that the greatest merit of their painters was their strong nationality.

churches of Valencia. With these fourth-rate workers it is not necessary to linger.

But among the group of artists we have classified as the pioneer naturalists are two painters who demand separate notice. Pedro Orrente and Estéban March to a certain extent stand alone in the midst of their Valencian co-workers. They are among the few painters of their school to whom religious subjects made little appeal. Orrente is the Spanish Bassano. He was animated by the same spirit that inspired the brush of Saavedra y Castillo. He extended the principle of truthful expression to the imitation of Nature in her common and most homely aspect. His scripture pieces are *genre* studies, not painted for their sacred theme, but for their possibility in landscape and for depicting simple scenes of country life. Flocks of sheep, cattle, any trivial rustic incident—these are what Orrente painted. His virgins and saints are peasant folk, while his biblical landscapes are pastoral views.

Pictures of this genus were not highly estimated in Valencia. It was felt that scriptural subjects require a more epic treatment. When Ribalta heard that Orrente had been commissioned to paint a picture of San Sèbastian for the Chapter of Valencia, this was his contemptuous comment—"Then you will see a fine *santo de lano!*" (a woolly, sheep-like saint).

There are few incidents of Orrente's life. He was born in 1570, at Montealegre, where he painted many pictures before he came to Valencia. Somewhat later we hear of his being at Madrid. His sacred pastorals gained the favour of the Court, and many of his pictures are gathered in the Royal Gallery. He died at Toledo in 1644.

Two of his pictures are simple pastorals. One scene shows the return of the flock, while in the other a shepherd sits at the door of his tent as he gazes upon his

drove of sheep. An "Adoration of the Shepherds" is a peasant idyl. Mary, a Spanish woman of the people, kneels by a rude cradle. She raises a coarse coverlet to display her babe to the kneeling shepherds. The scene is very intimate and very homely. In the Académia de Bellas Artes is a rendering of the "Departure of the Israelites from Egypt." This is the finest of Orrente's biblical pastorals. The landscape and the groups of cattle reposing beneath the rocks are strongly painted. "Christ appearing to Mary Magdalene"[1] illustrates the painter's habit of transforming sacred subjects into landscape studies. In a deep ravine, illumined by the tremulous light of the dawn, stands the Saviour, while the Magdalene kneels at His feet. The landscape is all important. This strong and powerfully-painted view is more than a simple background. The figures form the secondary motive; they are merely scenic incidents.

Orrente's greatest merit was his power of painting attractive contrasts of light and shade. His tints are clear and true, and in many of his pictures the tone is brilliant. None of his work is great. All his studies are alike, and his art soon becomes monotonous. His interest is chiefly historical. In his commonplace rendering of scriptural themes we note the reflection of the change that was transforming the religious art ideal of Castile.

Orrente transmitted his power as a colourist to his pupil, Estéban March.[2] There is something *bizarre* about this Valencian painter of extravagant battle-pieces. We are told that it was his practice to prepare himself for painting by beating martial music upon a drum. He

[1] This picture is in the Prado. There are two further studies by Orrente in the Gallery—"The Departure of the Family of Lot" and "The Holy Women and St. John lamenting the Death of Christ." In both pictures the figures are subordinate to the landscape.

[2] The date of Estéban March's birth is not known. He died at Valencia in 1660.

would arrange bombardments and sham contests in his studio in order to excite the spirit of battle before working at his pictures. Possibly such stories are untrue, but the very existence of the fables illuminates the attitude of the painter. In Estéban March the dramatic fanaticism of the nation was directed into strange channels. The fury and impetuosity of his battle-scenes, with their over-emphasis and want of balance, seem the echo of those mock studio-parades.

A series of these battle-scenes are preserved in the Museo of Valencia. They are dashing in execution. A sense of the thick atmosphere of battle is strongly conveyed; we see the dust and smoke of the fight. Yet the pictures lack the harmony of good composition; no central interest gives unity to the crowded scene.

This painter of violent action had little capacity for scriptural composition.[1] The saint he elected to paint was Jerónimo,[2] with his emaciated form, wild hair, and theatrical aspect. The best of his sacred pictures is in the Prado Gallery at Madrid. It shows the destruction of the hosts of Pharaoh in the waves of the Red Sea. The struggling forms are well drawn, and the scheme of colour is good. But Estéban March was not great in composition. His tendency to over-estimate is always present, and many of his pictures convey the feeling of strength run to riot.

Greater than his battle-pieces or his scriptural compositions are the painter's portrait-studies of the common people. These simple, realistic Spanish pictures are the best work that Estéban March has left. Three of these figure-sketches are in the Madrid Gallery. The study of a woman of the people with a timbrel in her right hand,

[1] Palomino praises a "Last Supper," but this is only a further instance of the indiscriminating criticism of the Spanish writer.

[2] There is a good study of San Jerónimo in the Prado.

ready to play, is strong and true. She is a living personification of a Spanish peasant woman. Two canvases, known as the "Companion Drinkers," show an old man and an old woman; the one figure leers lovingly upon his glass of wine, while the other grasps her bottle with her shrivelled hand.

Here then, in these portraits of disfigurement and age, we find the final note in the message of the pioneer naturalists. All subjects are for the painter. His power rests in the truth of his conception and in the reality of his execution, rather than in any perfectness of ideal form. This was the cry of the sixteenth century, this was the lesson taught by the national painters of Spain.

We have used the term "pioneer naturalists" for the painters grouped together in this chapter. Chronology alone will not justify such classification. Many of these pioneer workers were the contemporaries of Zurbarán and Ribera, of Murillo and Velazquez. If we remember dates, Herrera and Ribalta alone can be called the forerunners of the greater naturalists; but it is impossible logically to separate the Spanish painters by the arbitrary limit of years. It is a difference in capacity that severs the two groups of workers. The pioneer naturalists were imperfect in achievement. Their work was experimental, and rarely were their aims completely realised. Each painter possessed a certain reality of utterance, each had some special truth to convey, but none attained finality or greatness. It is in this sense these workers were forerunners. They represent the crowd struggling for the perfectness that only the few attain.

CHAPTER XI.

FRANCISCO DE ZURBARÁN, 1598-1661—THE EXPONENT OF SPANISH RELIGIOUS REALISM.

THE veritable successor of the elder Herrera was Francisco de Zurbarán, a peasant from Estremadura. Zurbarán has been called "All Spain,"[1] and perhaps no other words can so well describe his power. Every Spanish impulse, every trait that we have noted in the character of this people—their passion for the actual, their continual harping upon detail, their gloom, their religious asceticism, their indifference to beauty, their dramatic sense, their defiant temper—all find their utterance in the pictures of Zurbarán.

It has been said that "Zurbarán seems to pride himself on being freer from fancy or imagination than any other painter who ever existed."[2] But this was not the spirit of the painter. Zurbarán had no conscious desire to negate the power of fancy. It was not from design that he ignored the realms of the idealist. He simply answered the call of his strong Spanish temperament; it is a profound truth that, while other painters are Spanish, the pictures of Zurbarán are Spain.

We know little with regard to the life of Zurbarán. A few scattered facts of his early years and the date of his death alone remain; anecdote has not gathered around his name, and the Spanish historians say little about his character. The record of his life has been absorbed in the

[1] Lord Leighton: Address to the Royal Academy students.

[2] Carl Justi.

abundance of his work. His parents, Luis Zurbarán and Isabel Margaret, were field-toilers at Fuente de Cantos, a village of Estremadura. Francisco was born on the 7th of November, in the year 1598. The boy early began to draw; he would take a piece of charcoal and sketch all the objects around him. For long this was the peasant lad's sole training, and among the arid plains of Estremadura, desolate except for great flocks of migratory sheep, Zurbarán mastered the outlines of his art. This self-education saved him from all imitation and from all mannerism. He learned that his work must be an expression from within, and unconsciously it became his custom to paint always exactly what he saw. His hand was the outward instrument directing the vision of his eye. He grew to be the recorder of truth, and his art was uninfluenced by the standards of other workers.

After some years the drawings of the peasant attracted notice in his native village, and Luis Zurbarán was advised to take his son to Seville. The required funds were provided with difficulty, and Zurbarán came to the great centre of painting. It was the time when art was supreme in the southern city, and no difficulty impeded the progress of the *rústico*. His talent was at once discerned, and Juan de las Roelas received him as a pupil. The glowing colour of the Venetianised master gave Zurbarán the further training that he needed. He studied ardently the principles of chiaroscuro, and became deft in rendering striking results of light and shade; but he did not relax his personality, and he never acquired the manner of his teacher. The whole desire of the young student was for reality of expression. He showed great aptitude for painting drapery, especially folds of white stuff. Every item of detail in his studies was invariably executed from the object itself. He worked directly from nature, painting always from the model, and having each fold of drapery arranged upon the lay figure. Zurbarán

had no desire to soften or idealise. His one effort was to portray what he saw, omitting nothing, altering nothing, concealing nothing, in the quest after his ideal of artistic truth.

The monks of the many religious orders of Spain were familiar objects in the streets of Seville. These ascetic figures invoked the imagination of Zurbarán. Instinctively he comprehended the dramatic attributes of their personality and of their dress. The direct folds of the white-robed Carthusians specially attracted him. With acute perception he studied the monks of the many convents, until he learned to understand the very spirit of monastic Spain. No one has ever painted monks as he has done. His rendering of their life is profoundly true, and at the same time very simple. Subtly he distinguishes between the varied orders, the very gestures of each are faithfully recorded. His monkish scenes form a priceless record of Spanish monasticism. These ascetic studies are scattered in many places. They may be seen in the Cathedral and Museo of Seville,[1] in the provincial collection of pictures at Cadiz,[2] and in the sacristy of Guadalupe Cathedral[3] while other canvases have been carried to Madrid, and the varied galleries of Europe.

[1] The nine pictures illustrating the history of St. Peter still decorate the Capilla de San Pedro of the cathedral. They were painted when Zurbarán was only twenty-five, for the Marquis de Malagon, and were his first large compositions. Both the colour and the draughtsmanship of the work are recorded as excellent. At present it is only possible to discern the dim outline of the figures, so obscure is the light in the cathedral chapel.

[2] The pictures at Cadiz were painted for the Cartuja of Jeréz, in 1633. The best are a study of "St. Bruno in Prayer," and a large altar-piece, symbolising the Church of the Portiuncula at Assisi, being rebuilt by St. Francis.

[3] The series at Guadalupe illustrate scenes in the life of St. Jerome, and were painted for the Jeronymite Friars. Carl Justi speaks of them as being "among the best of all" Zurbarán's monastic studies.

The Carthusian scenes in Seville Museo were painted for the Cartuja of Santa Maria de las Cuevas. The canvases are thinly painted, and the execution is somewhat hasty; but this defect is compensated by the deep fidelity of the studies, while the tones are clear and the shadows very distinct. "San Hugo visiting the Monks in their Refectory to Reprove Them for Dining upon Flesh Meat," is a work of pre-Raphaelite power. The brothers, clad in the white, fleecy robes of their order, are seated around a table eating their midday repast. In the foreground stands the aged Hugo, attended by a boy-page. His purple vestments give an effect of colour, in fine contrast with the white frocks of the cowled brothers. The picture is very simple, but how true and how strong! Those cold, passionless faces, each one is a living transcript of ascetic renunciation. The scene is a very real presentment of mediæval Spanish life. The remaining studies show "St. Bruno conversing with Pope Urban II.," and the "Virgin Shadowing with her Mantle a Company of Carthusians." Both scenes are rendered with faithful accuracy. "San Bruno" is the finer picture, for the subject of the latter work does not harmonise with Zurbarán's realistic treatment.

Three studies of monkish transport are treasured at Madrid. "The Vision of San Pedro Nolasco" and the "Appearance of San Pedro the Apostle to San Pedro Nolasco"[1] are in the Prado, while "Saint Benedict in Ecstasy" is in the Real Académia de Bellas Artes.[2] It is not easy to describe in words these presentments of ascetic frenzy. The faces of the saints are wonderful, with their absolute negation of life, and their eyes gleaming with the rapture of heavenly madness; but the greatest interest of the work arises from the naturalness

[1] The pictures were painted at Seville, for the Convent of the Merced Calzada.

[2] Formerly called the Académia de San Fernando.

San Hugo en el Refectorio.

(*St. Hugo in the Refectory.*)

of the treatment. Ecstatic visions of the dwellers in heaven are translated by pure realism. Perhaps never has the ideal and the actual been more intimately mingled.

In the dream of Saint Benedict, the monk kneels, supported by an angel, while he gazes in holy bliss at a vision in the sky, where Christ sits with Mary and a trio of celestial musicians. The glowing beam of light that falls upon the saint is magnificently painted. It radiates from the hands of Christ and the Virgin. The heavenly scene is curious, and yet it is finely conceived. Cherubs are childish heads, so mingled with the clouds that they are dimly visible. Three players are maidens of Andalusia, draped in the simple folds of white that Zurbarán loved to paint. The tall, thin Christ, and the Mother, with her grave, dark face, recall the conceptions of El Greco. A simple dignity ennobles the work, and its perfect naturalness gives reality to the vision of imagination.

There are many samples of these pictures of ecclesiastical passion. In the gallery at Berlin is a study of "St. Bonaventura displaying the Crucifix,"[1] while a picture symbolising the election of the saint to the Pontificate is guarded at Dresden. This last work is a wonderful realisation. Bonaventura bends in worship, while an angel, with widespread wings, directs his vision. Two figures are seen in clear relief through an open archway. They bear news of Bonaventura's appointment. The handling of the picture is very strong, and the face, the hands, the entire form of the saint are painted with great reality.

Zurbarán often selected simple subjects, and many of

[1] This picture is one of the few canvases of Zurbarán that are signed. It is also dated 1629. Both pictures were carried from Spain by Marshal Soult during the French War.

his noblest efforts are studies of solitary figures. Simplicity, directness, and strength, inspired by religious passion, these were the key-notes of his art. He was never greatly attracted by beauty, and he cared little for delicacy of outline. His utterance was the cry of himself, and before all else his work was straightforward. In most of his pictures the whole light is concentrated upon one side, giving an effect of strong modelling, and at the same time producing broad contrasts of light and shadow.

Among the Spanish pictures in the National Gallery is a study of a Franciscan monk, which expresses all that is essential in Zurbarán's work. An isolated figure of a brown-frocked Franciscan kneels, absorbed in the act of prayer. His pallid hands are clasped upon a skull, and the transport of the cold ascetic rests upon his countenance. The tones of the picture are brown; the lighting is very simple, the shadows broad, and the whole work dramatic, yet forcibly natural. Formerly this study was among Louis Philippe's collection of Spanish pictures at the Louvre. M. Ch. Blanc thus writes of it on the day when the pictures were first shown to the public of Paris: "It was not the suavity of Murillo, nor the astonishing pencil of Velasquez, but a certain 'Monk in Prayer' by Zurbarán—impossible to forget if only once seen—which impressed the Parisian mind."[1]

Zurbarán has left many of these monastic portraits. Eleven studies of single monks and saints are in the Museo at Seville, and there are many others in varied places. All of them are realistic likenesses. Zurbarán

[1] Zurbarán is the only Spanish painter, if we except Velazquez and Murillo, who is in any sense adequately represented in the National Gallery. The Spanish collection gives no idea of the Spanish school; but the three pictures by Zurbarán are all fine examples. They amply reveal the extent of his power. The "Monk in Prayer" was bought when the collection of Louis Philippe was sold in London in 1853.

LE ÉXTASIS DE SAN BENITO.

(*The Ecstasy of St. Benedict.*)

BY ZURBARÁN.

had the Spanish instinct for portraiture.[1] He never painted types, and his saints are not idealised; they are always human beings. The heads of his figures are strongly individualised; indeed his studies form a veritable portrait-gallery of the men and women of Spain.

His likenesses of women are specially original. They are catalogued as saints, but in reality they are portraits of the society beauties of Seville. Their dresses, semi-fashionable and semi-fantastic, are usually rendered in three colours, while the pink complexions denote the prevalent use of rouge. The incongruity of clothing saintship in the garb of fashion would not be manifest to Zurbarán. He cared nothing what name was given to his pictures; the necessity to him was to paint what he saw. Never could he view female saints; thus he painted women, but to please the Church he called them saints. In this Zurbarán was very Spanish. In common with the majority of the painters of his country, he was deficient in sensitiveness and intuitive artistic perception. Herein rested both his limitation and his strength. His power was intensified by his concentrated pursuit of fact. He attained his object, even when such realism resulted in incongruities bordering upon the ludicrous. Perhaps it may be as well to say at once that Zurbarán's work is at all times more interesting than great.

A series of these misnamed saints decorate the church of the Hospital de la Sangre at Seville. They are portraits of graceful and beautiful women, strongly painted and very life-like, with absolutely no indication of saintship except their names, and the fact that lambs and other saint-like objects are at times represented with them.

A remarkable likeness of a Spanish woman, strangely

[1] The short biographical notice of Zurbarán given in the Catalogue of the National Gallery ends with this sentence: "He was in fact a great, though not a professional, portrait-painter."

named St. Margaret, has recently been added to the examples of Zurbarán's work in the National Gallery. An Andalusian woman, barefooted and dressed in the costume of the province, stands with a book in her hand, while an embroidered Spanish pack-saddle hangs over one arm. The outlines are distinctly painted, and the colours are very crisp and clear. Vital reality dominates the composition, and the picture is very Spanish; yet there is a curious and irresistible impression of modernness in the work.[1]

We have said nothing of the painter's large composition pictures. They are less distinctive of his special message. Zurbarán never completely mastered the difficulty of giving unity to a crowded scene. His art was very individual, and he was too intent upon realistic detail to command the view of his composition in its totality. He appears to have been indifferent to the whole impression of his work, and he often sacrificed his conception by introducing more than one centre of interest. This defect was in some measure neutralised by his careful distribution of light. Zurbarán was the first Andalusian painter to recognise the full importance of consistency in lighting his canvas. He made many experiments to master the difficulties of chiaroscuro. His ordinary habit was to place his pictures with a strong light falling upon them from one side. In this way he emphasised the modelling of the form, and gave harmony to his colour schemes. In colour Zurbarán was great, and few Spanish painters have surpassed him in his masterly effects of sombre colour; but even perfect unison of tone cannot compensate for fragmentary grouping, and the want of one impelling interest mars his conceptions of many figures.

The large triple altar-piece of the "Apotheosis of St. Thomas Aquinas" is the greatest of Zurbarán's allegorical

[1] The picture was bought in 1903 from the Marquis of Northampton.

scenes.[1] Its merit rests in the personality of its portrait heads. The saint ascending to heaven, the Emperor Charles, who kneels upon the left,[2] the doctors of the Latin Church, seated beneath the saint, the Archbishop Diego de Dega, the founder of the college, the figure of St. Jerome, all are living studies. Above, in the heavens, are the Blessed Trinity, the Virgin, and St. Paul, with hosts of angels. Throughout, the execution is fine. The imperial crown and mantle and the numberless ecclesiastical robes are magnificent; rarely have folds of drapery been more ably handled. Strongly-defined light and shade gives to the work a fine colour effect. Broad masses of shadow deepen the tones of the lower section; above, the background is sunny, while a street view, seen in the middle distance, lends atmospheric depth to the work. The "Apotheosis of St. Thomas" is, without doubt, a painting of power, but it is not pictorial. It interests the spectator, it compels his admiration, but it never satisfies his artistic sense.

Zurbarán's scriptural scenes are distinctive for their spontaneous truth. He re-tells the old stories with the verity of the new manner. His three studies of "The

[1] The picture was painted in 1628 or 1630 for the Chapel of the Colegio of Santo Tomás, at Seville. Much has been written in praise of the work, which many critics consider Zurbarán's masterpiece. Undoubtedly the picture suffers from its present position. It is unsuited to a crowded gallery, but this fact cannot lessen the faults of its composition. Sir David Wilkie speaks of it as "a superb picture, which places the master next to Murillo, and in a style that we could wish the great painter of Seville had in some degree followed" (Cunningham's *Life of Wilkie*). Sir Edmund Head, in his *Handbook of Spanish Painting*, writes: "Few pictures in the world are superior to it." The writer upon Spanish Painting in *The Illustrated Handbooks of Art History* speaks of it as "one of the noblest pictures ever executed by a Spanish artist."

[2] A figure immediately behind the Emperor is supposed to be a portrait of the painter.

Crucifixion "[1] in the Museo at Seville are deeply religious, and at the same time realistically simple. In one the Christ is dead, in the two remaining canvases he is seen in the act of expiring. All light is concentrated upon the body, and the background is very dark. No accessories are painted; but in one picture a perspective view of Jerusalem fills the distance.

"El Niño Jesus,"[2] a simple study of the boy Christ, admirably mirrors Zurbarán's religious conceptions. In many ways the little sketch is defective, but the sincerity of the treatment is very manifest. A lad, dressed in a simple flowing gown of grey purple, sits with a crown of twisted spines resting upon his knee. That is all. No halo encircles the boy, and the cherubs who hover in the background are so lightly indicated that they are easily forgotten. The only accessory is a glass with flowers standing upon a pedestal.[3]

A study of "The Child Christ," in the Madrid Gallery, is painted in the same spirit. A little Jesus, swathed in royal purple, rests upon a cross, while beside him is placed the crown of thorns. It is the severe simplicity of these studies that charms. They are very modern in their rigid realism.

In 1633 Zurbarán painted the greatest of his religious works, "The Adoration of the Shepherds,"[4] until recently in the collection of the Infanta Doña Maria Luisa

[1] Lord Leighton speaks of "the poignancy and imaginative grasp" of these studies.

[2] In Seville Museo.

[3] In the collection of Don Lopéz Cepero at Seville there is a picture upon the same subject. The background is different, and the lad Jesus is shown in the act of pressing a spine from his finger which has been wounded by the crown.

[4] The picture was painted for one of the large monasteries of Seville, now suppressed. They were for long in the Palace of San Telmo, at Seville, but they have recently been removed, with all the treasures of the Infanta.

Jesús Crucificado.

(*Jesus Crucified.*)

BY ZURBARÁN.

Fernanda de Bourbon. A picture on the same subject in the National Gallery is now attributed to Zurbarán.[1] It is a work of impelling power, in which the figures are almost startling with their absolute reality and individual aspect.

Of the personal life of the painter during these years of work in the southern city we know nothing, except a legend related by the story-loving Palomino. He tells us that Zurbarán once retired to the quietness of his native village, when the chief citizen of Seville went and implored his return to work again in their midst. But the story is discredited by the more accurate historian Bermudez.

Only once did Zurbarán paint scenes that were not scriptural or monkish. In 1650 he was summoned to Madrid, tradition says, at the suggestion of Velazquez. We know that prior to this date the painter's work had been noticed by Philip IV. On a canvas executed in 1633, when he was only thirty-five, he writes after his signature "Pintor del Rey"; but we have no knowledge of how or when he received this honour.

Zurbarán's work at the Court was to paint ten compositions, illustrating the history of Hercules, for the *Saloncete* of the Buen Retiro. These canvases are now in the Royal Gallery. They are rendered with the exact and unflinching truth that animates all the painter's work; but the subject was not in harmony with his essential temper, and the pictures are the poorest of his works.

[1] This picture has only recently been ascribed to Zurbarán; formerly it was accounted an early work by Velazquez. The picture has neither the colouring nor the sentiment of Velazquez. It certainly bears a remarkable likeness to Zurbarán's work in Spain; the conception breathes the spirit of his religious studies. The composition in the National Gallery was purchased for Louis Philippe by Baron Taylor, from the Count del Aguila. It was bought for the National Gallery in 1853, at the sale of Louis Philippe's collection.

Zurbarán appears to have gained honour at Madrid, for a legend has been treasured that tells how Philip came to him one day when he was painting, and greeted him with the words, "Pintór del Rey y rey del pintores."

This is all we know of the Court life of Zurbarán. He died at Madrid, probably in 1662, but the exact date is uncertain. He has left a portrait of himself dressed in the extreme fashion of the time. His face is very Spanish, the features dark and finely moulded, the expression keen and impressive—a countenance at once dramatic and strong.

Such was the man who, in those years of conflicting purpose, remained steadfast to the powerful personality of his race. Zurbarán is the exponent of the religious temper of Spain in its strong, passionate, and dramatic aspect. He was great in portraiture, the special heritage of the painters of Spain, he interpreted the monastic life of his country with the insight of true genius, and lastly, he united the deep religious instinct of the nation with the fidelity of the new realism. This is what Zurbarán accomplished. The work of some of the Spanish artists is greater, the compositions of many are more pleasing, but no painter has greater interest, and no other Spanish pictures have an equal historical significance.

CHAPTER XII.

JUSEPE DE RIBERA, KNOWN AS "LO SPAGNOLETTO" (1588-1656)—THE ITALIANISED SPANIARD.

WE have traced through the record of the centuries the ascendency of Italy over the artistic production of Spain. We have seen how the subtle beauty of the Southern ideal degenerated into feeble affectation when interpreted by the Spanish painters. Now, at last, in the sixteenth century, a change had come, when the hostile impulses were to be united in one central aim. A new purpose was re-moulding the artistic fancy of Italy. No longer was the cry of her culture at variance with the inevitable trend of Spanish art. The force of the Renaissance was exhausted, and a counter reformation that had naturalism for its basic foundation had produced a new style, with new laws of taste. Italian and Spanish painters were now impelled by one motive of direct imitation; for the naturalism of the second Italian revival had none of that blending of moral perfectness with supreme beauty that constituted the ideal naturalism of the great Renaissance masters. The realism of the *Naturalisti* was founded upon passion. It was the elemental truth of vehement natures, delighting in detail and in strong contrasts. These new workers cared little for ideal harmony or for beauty as an object in itself, but expended the whole power of their art in virile expression and strong workmanship. It was a naturalism the Spanish painter was not only able to comprehend, but one which he was specially endowed to brilliantly interpret. Thus there is nothing singular in

the fact that Ribera, the Spaniard, became the foremost master of the Italian *Naturalisti*.

Ribera stands to some extent alone among the artists of his race, the one painter to whom Italy brought unquestioned gain.[1] An Italian by his training, and by the record of his life, Ribera's art yet remains Spanish. His Italian education caused no corresponding weakening of his national individualism. The new atmosphere of Italy harmonised with his nature. It was an environment to increase his power. In his study of Correggio and the later Italian painters he was in reality developing himself. He gained in experience and dexterity, until he was able to harmonise in his strong utterance the dual impulse towards naturalism that was vibrating both in Spain and Italy. The dramatic passion of Ribera's national temperament was the motive power of his painting. In their conception his pictures belong wholly to Spain. And Ribera is the successor of Ribalta as truly as Zurbarán was the follower of Herrera.

Jusepe de Ribera[2] was born of respectable parents on the 12th day of January 1588 at Játiva, a picturesque oriental town twenty-five miles from Valencia.[3] It was the wish of Ribera's father that his son should follow the pursuit of letters, and the young Ribera was sent to study

[1] See Lord Leighton's address to the students of the Royal Academy.

[2] In the catalogue of the Prado, Ribera is given the alternative name of José.

[3] We owe these brief facts of Ribera's early life to the research of Cean Bermudez. He discovered the register of the painter's birth at Játiva, and first claimed him as a native of Spain. Dominici, the Italian historian, in his *Vite del Pittori Napolitani*, states that Ribera, though of Spanish descent, was born at Gallipoli, a town in the Neapolitan province of Lecce. It seems probable that Cean Bermudez is right; and in Valencia Ribera is always accounted as the pupil of Ribalta. A comparison of the work of the two painters certainly supports this statement.

at the University of Valencia. But the one desire of the boy was to know how to paint, and his nature was too strong not to attain its goal. He entered the studio of the elder Ribalta, where he worked passionately at the art he loved.

Of these apprentice days we have no historic record. But the strength of the Valencian painter's influence is abundantly manifested in Ribera's work. The pupil's painting was indeed the amplification of the master's manner, and it is probable that Ribera owes more to Ribalta than to Caravaggio, the reputed moulder of his style.[1] Probably it was his advice that sent the ardent boy to work in Italy.

We do not know the exact date of Ribera's advent in Rome, but from that time the memorial of his life is complete. It was an existence of contrasts, wherein splendour alternated with misery—a passionate, turgid life that bespeaks the same message as the painter's pictures.

The boy Ribera was very poor. He begged his food, and slept in any shelter he could find. All day he painted, working with restless ardour, while he sketched the endless common objects of the streets. He was called "Lo Spagnoletto" (the little Spaniard), and the artists of the city—half pitying, half amused at the passion of the lad—gave him bread, with sometimes a stray coin, which was straightway used to buy fresh paints. One day a cardinal passed and saw the boy enthusiast gravely working, and utterly forgetful of his surroundings. The ecclesiastic carried the boy to his palace, where the beggar-painter was transformed into the favoured page. For several months Ribera lived in splendour, but the enthusiasm of the artist was not to be quenched. The

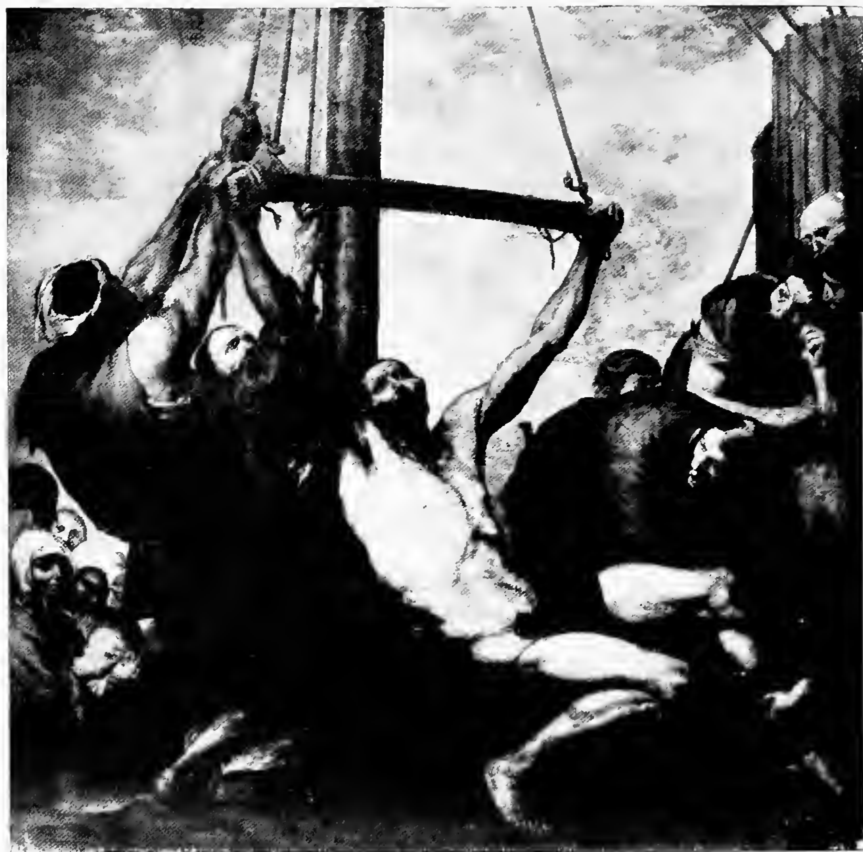
[1] Sir W. Stirling-Maxwell calls him "an imitator of Amerighi da Caravaggio." Kugler's *Handbook* says "he formed his style chiefly after Caravaggio."

boy found his patron had no love of art, and that the luxury of his surroundings made it harder, instead of easier, for him to work. One day he donned his old rags, and went back to the streets, once more to starve and paint.

Ribera worked incessantly; always observing the realistic principles of never painting a figure without the living model, and of executing every detail with the object directly before him. This fact, coupled with his love of sharp, abrupt lights, dark backgrounds, and deep shadows, is the ground-work of Ribera's supposed indebtedness to Caravaggio.[1] These tendencies were rather the result of his own nature. Ribera had a temperament a-tune with the realistic impulse, and his boyish passion is sufficient witness that the course he chose he would follow forcibly. At one time he was engrossed with the pictures of Raphael, at another period we hear of him copying the mythological designs of Annibale Caracci in the Farnese Palace at Rome, while later he journeyed to Parma and Modena, that he might more fully know the paintings of Correggio. The exact sway exercised by these varied masters upon Ribera's own painting cannot be measured. If, apparently, he learned more from Correggio than from Raphael, it was because the work of the latter painter more fully harmonised with his own conception. If he adopted the dark backgrounds and stormy ideas of Caravaggio, it was not from imitation; it was because his own life vibrated with something of the same wild passion. Ribera's personality is the dominant note of his utterance. His truest training was his patient, ardent painting of the passers-by, and the trivial details in the streets of Rome.

Some time before the year 1615 Ribera returned from

[1] Caravaggio died in 1609, when Ribera was nineteen. It is almost impossible that the penniless youth could have personally known the painter.



El Martirio de San Bartolomé.

(*The Martyrdom of St. Bartholomew.*)

BY RIBERA.

Parma, and was again working in Rome. We read that he was "surrounded with friends and advisers." For some reason the young painter did not remain in the gathering-place of artists. It may have been a spirit of restlessness that urged him to wander. Possibly he could find no work in the crowded city. Some say he quarrelled with his brother painters.[1] Another writer[2] urges as the reason for his departure that he wished to be "free from his counsellors, and able to follow his own instinct." Be this as it may, Ribera went to Naples, the city that from henceforward was his home.

"Lo Spagnoletto" was still a poor student, and his poverty was so complete he was compelled to leave his Spanish cloak at a hostel to pay for his night's lodging. Yet the absence of money never oppressed Ribera. He began to paint with his old passion, living from hand to mouth in the streets of Naples. Suddenly his fortune was reversed, and almost in one bound, he stepped from penury into wealth. A shrewd and affluent picture-dealer saw his genius. He took the young painter into his own household, and married him to his daughter, in order to secure the profits of his talent.

It was now that Ribera painted his first large composition. He selected the "Martyrdom of St. Bartholomew," a scene that always delighted his histrionic imagination. The commercial wit of his father-in-law gained an ovation for the picture. One bright, sunny forenoon the canvas was placed upon the balcony of the picture-dealer's house, which faced the palace of the Spanish Viceroy.[3] Crowds began to collect around the house. The realistic power of that painted scene of martyred horror

[1] The account of Ribera's life in the Catalogue of the National Gallery.

[2] W. Scott: *Murillo and the Spanish School of Painting*.

[3] Naples was at this time an appanage of Spain. The Viceroy was the Count de Monterey, one of the Dukes of Osuna.

seized upon the mob. With Southern vehemence, they gesticulated and shouted: "Who was the painter?" "Where was the unknown genius who had executed the work?" The excitement grew and grew. What the far-seeing dealer had anticipated took place, and the attention of the Viceroy was arrested. The guard was called to quell the supposed street riot; but when, shortly afterwards, the Viceroy arrived, he found nothing except a wonderful picture and a young Spanish painter.

It may be well to pause here for a moment to say a word with regard to Ribera's distinctive power. If we remember the profound gloom of the Spanish religious ideal, always darkened with the horror of the Inquisition, and if, in unison with this all-powerful influence, we note those elements of strength, dramatic utterance, and virile personality that we have so often emphasised as the indelible signs of the Spanish character, we have the key-note to the passion that swayed Ribera's art. The very strength of his personality drove him to adopt the extremes of realism. His pictures have been called "The poetry of the repulsive."[1] But delineation of the repulsive was not the whole art of Ribera. He could appreciate the beautiful; he could also paint tenderly. Even in his scenes of flayed saints, with their tortured limbs and writhing muscles, it was no love of horror that impelled his brush. If we understand the painter aright, it was an overmastering impulse for reality of utterance. It was the same strength that had enabled the "little Spaniard" to starve in the streets of Rome in order that he might learn to paint. Ribera rendered his scenes of horror with the verity of a Spanish painter.

From this time Ribera's fortunes thrived.[2] The

[1] Kugler's *Handbook of Painting*.

[2] Ribera painted many pictures for the Count de Monterey, which were sent to the palace of the Dukes of Osuna, in Spain. One of his

Viceroy brought him to the palace, where he gave him a studio and a suite of apartments for his private use. Spanish nobles congregated in Naples, and the pictures of "Lo Spagnoletto" were freely purchased. Philip IV. heard of "the wonderful Spaniard in Naples," and sent for his work to decorate the Escorial and the Alcázar. In addition, many religious scenes were painted for the convents and churches of Naples.[1] In 1630 Ribera was elected a member of the Academy of St. Luke, at Rome, and in 1644 the Pope decorated him with the insignia of the Order of Abito de Cristo.

The painter appears to have taken a childish delight in the pomp and ostentation of his surroundings. A story, recorded of this period, illustrates the abundance of his riches and the boastfulness of his temper.

Two officers of the Spanish guard, their imaginations fired with the accounts of the pretended wonders of alchemy, came to Ribera and begged him to join them

earliest works is a "Crucifixion," which is still preserved in the private chapel of the palace. Carl Justi says this "is probably the earliest extant work of Ribera." When Soult rifled the ducal church during the French War, the soldiers amused themselves by firing at the picture. The canvas was afterwards restored by Joaquin Cortes.

[1] The Jesuit Convents of St. Francis Xavier and Jesus Nuovo, and the Chapel of Santa Maria Bianca, were rich in possession of Ribera's work. For the Chapter of Naples Cathedral he painted "St. Januarius coming out of the Furnace." For the Sacristy of San Martino he executed a "Last Supper," which Kugler says is "in the manner of Paul Veronese." His famous "Deposition from the Cross" was also painted for this church. Writers speak with enthusiasm of the work "as a picture rarely equalled by any master of any school" (Sir Edmund Head, and also Sir W. Stirling-Maxwell); and again, "as a masterly production that rivals the best specimens of Italian art" (Kugler's *Handbook*). Sir Thomas Lawrence, in a letter sent to Sir David Wilkie at Madrid, in 1827, writes: "From the one picture by Ribera, at Naples, I have been led to think you would find some grand specimens of his power in sentiment and chiaroscuro."

in an enterprise for the discovery of the Philosopher's Stone.

"I can make gold for myself," was the answer of Ribera. "Come to me again to-morrow at this time and you shall learn my secret."

In anxiety the officers waited. Next day, in all eagerness, they sought the painter's studio.

Ribera was at work, placing the final strokes on a canvas that rested on his easel. He greeted his friends, then silently returned to his work. It was not long before the sketch was finished, whereupon Ribera summoned his servant.

"Take this to its owner," he said, as he held the canvas towards him, "and bring me back four hundred ducats."

He turned to the officers and bowed. "You see I have no use for the Philosopher's Stone."

Ribera's ardour and enthusiasm for his art never abated. An account of his method of work, described at length by his biographers, brings before us a vivid picture of the impetuous painter, with his strange love of pompous display. Often he worked with such violence that his body refused to sustain the fatigue. After some years failing health and his own ardour made it necessary for him to limit his painting to six hours' work, executed in the morning. During this interval he painted with the ferocity that belongs alike to genius and to madness. No one dared to interrupt him, and even the greatest of his patrons was refused admittance to the studio. The painter was unconscious of time, and the hours of work sped by without his having compassed the task he had appointed. He therefore ordered a servant to come every hour to the studio, and utter in a loud and commanding voice, "Another hour has passed, Signor Cavaliere!"

His special attendant, a servant attired in great state,

was charged to stand behind him to hand him his brushes and hold his palette. When the painter's working hours had passed, it was the duty of this functionary to step forward and announce the fact to the painter in these words, "Signor Cavaliere, your time is accomplished, and your carriage is waiting."

Ribera was now absolute in Naples. The rich, boastful painter has little of the attraction that centred around the eager boy working in his rags. With two brother-painters, Belisario Correnzio and Giambattista, he formed an absolute and arrogant cabal. No artist was permitted to enter Naples, and no painter within the city could execute a work of any moment except with the consent of the inquisitorial trio. Domenichino, Annibale Caracci, the Cavaliere D'Arpino, Guido, and other painters refused to recognise this reign of terror, and came to the city to take their part in decorating the Duomo of St. Januarius.[1]

But before long the persecution of the cabal compelled them to leave Naples. The health of Caracci was destroyed by the cruelty he had encountered, and he died soon after his return to Rome. A worse fate awaited Domenichino. He refused to be driven from Naples until he had executed his work for the Chapel of the Tesoro, in the Duomo. The result was his death before the task was completed. No facts are known, but the suspicion of poison was strong, and there is little doubt the deed was prompted by the three relentless intriguers. Even more treacherous was Ribera's conduct to Massimo Stanzioni, his rival at Naples. Stanzioni had painted a fine study of the dead Christ for the entrance of San Martino. The picture was somewhat dark, and Ribera persuaded the monks to allow him to wash the canvas, when, in wanton spite, he ruined the work with a dark and corrosive liquid.[2]

[1] See Dominici's *Vite del Pittori Napolitani.*

[2] See Kugler's *Handbook.*

In reviewing the character of Ribera we must not forget that such actions of jealous arrogance and cruelty were the accepted Italian ideal of artistic conduct. It was an age in which strength was intimately allied with brutality, when injustice to a rival was applauded rather than censured, while physical courage and a bombastic self-appraisement were the approved signs of power. The artistic annals of the Italian painters abound with such incidents. Benvenuto Cellini, the skilled craftsman of Rome, could note in his biography[1] his many brawls and murders, and with perfect sincerity "thank God who had enabled him to stab an enemy in the back." In Italy the great artist was regarded as above the laws that regulated the conduct of men with lesser talent. This was the verdict of a people who still worshipped art as their liege mistress. "You do not understand these matters," was the answer of Pope Paul III., when the famous goldsmith was accused of murder; "I would have you know that men who are unique in their profession are not subject to the laws."

It is worthy of note that Ribera was both a good friend and a good father. His intercourse with Velazquez was shadowed by no jealousy. The Court portrait-painter twice visited him at Naples, and the two countrymen became friends. Velazquez always mentioned the Neapolitan painter with affection. Ribera's sorrow for the seduction of his beautiful daughter by Don Juan of Austria was the cause of his death. The young maid left her home to follow her lover. Ribera was overwhelmed; he saw no one, and one day, in the year 1648,[2] he went from his house and was never seen again.

[1] See *La Vita de Benvenuto Cellini.*

[2] This date must be wrong. Valazquez visited Ribera on his second Italian journey (see p. 243). This seems to suggest that the Spanish historians may be right; but it is strange that no record remains of these last years. Dominici founds his account upon a report which, he says, was given to him by his father.

Such is the story recounted by the Italian historian Dominici. The Spanish writers, Palomino and Cean Bermudez, say that the painter died rich and honoured in Naples, in the year 1656. It is not possible to decide which account is true. Nothing is known of the death of "Lo Spagnoletto." In darkness the strange, strong, passionate life fades from us, and no memorial remains to indicate his resting-ground.

Ribera has left his portrait, painted by himself. The face is very handsome—a small oval, shrouded with masses of dark curling hair; eyes of fever brightness, that bespeak the restlessness of the inward temperament. The features are sharply modelled and excitable. A Spanish countenance—beautiful, cruel, and dramatic!

The work of Ribera is little known in England. Two examples of his work in the National Gallery are a travesty of his power. It is in Spain alone that the painter can be truly estimated. There are between fifty and sixty of his compositions in the Museo del Prado alone; his wonderful "Immaculata" is still in the Convent of the Augustinas Recolétas at Salamanca; the Dukes of Osuna have many of his pictures; a fine study of "Jacob watering the Flocks of Laban" and several other works still decorate the Escorial; there is a very beautiful "Rest on the Flight into Egypt" at Córdova; and a "Holy Family with St. John" in the Museo of Toledo; while many of his pictures are treasured in the museum of his native province.[1]

The pictures in the Royal Gallery are collected in a separate apartment. It is here we realise the incisive

[1] Almost every private collection in Spain has some picture by Ribera. Don López Cepero at Seville has a tender and charming "Virgin and Child," attributed to Ribera.

virility of Ribera's art, here we learn to comprehend his marvellous technical power. Every picture in the Salón de Ribera is stamped with the vigour of his hand; indeed, if one word can mirror these studies, that word would be "force." Whatever may be the estimate of Ribera's work, his competency and his strength may not be doubted.

Many of the pictures are single studies of the Apostles. These presentments reveal the powerful manner in which Ribera modelled his figures. His knowledge of anatomy was great, and his handling of the human form is always strong. At times his figures are also beautiful. There is a bust of a young and lovely woman—a small picture, cut from a canvas burned in the royal fire of 1734. The face is in profile, and the chin rests upon the hand of the arm, which is bent upward towards the face. Ribera's modelling of the arm is supreme; it is an exquisite study of flesh.

In draughtsmanship Ribera was always great. He could draw his figures in acute motion. Look at the "Martyrdom of St. Bartholomew."[1] How one feels the stretched sinews of the men as they strain to raise the body of the tortured saint! Gaze long enough upon the canvas and the figures will appear to move. The effort represented is so united and so real that involuntarily one pictures the result.

It is not easy to describe in words the impressive effect of Ribera's strength in rendering light and shade. Never was chiaroscuro more vigorous. His strong luminous shadows heighten the vivacity of his glowing colours. The canvases of his martyred scenes are illumined with livid lights that show bodies orange tinted, and make light draperies glow like yellow gold. Ribera never

[1] There are two representations of this subject in the Prado; and there are several others in various collections.

UNA MUJER (A WOMAN).

(*Fragment of a picture lurnt in the fire of 1734.*)

BY RIBERA.

attained to realism of impression, but he was truly great as a realistic painter of objects. He never forgets to maintain a decorative ideal, and the unison of his conceptions is always manifest in his scenes. His work lacks the subtlety of the finer realism of Velazquez, but it is very strong, very seizing, very dramatic.

We have said that Ribera was not wantonly repulsive.[1] In "Ixion on the Wheel" and "Prometheus chained on the Summit of the Caucasus" we have scenes ghastly with horror. But such subjects are of necessity revolting, if they are painted truly. The sufferings of the saints were favoured themes with the Spanish painters. It was the dramatic power of Ribera that caused him to clothe his martyrdoms with horror. The realism of his work was the result of his passion for truth; it was not due to any unholy delight in depicting ugliness. In a word, if Ribera had a ghastly subject to depict, the truth of his art enforced that the rendering should be ghastly.

These pictures of torture are only one side of Ribera's utterance. To remember him "as a painter who delights in horrible subjects"[2] is to negative more than half of his pictures. Never has quiet sleep been more simply and naturally rendered than in "La Escala de Jacob." The patriarch, a brown-frocked monk, rests at the roots of a wind-driven tree. His limbs are relaxed with weariness, his countenance breathes sleep; with his left hand he presses the ground, his right palm pillows his head. The perfect naturalness of the pose, the unaffected severity of the landscape, the beauty of the rolling expanse of sky, wherein the angel vision is

[1] Many ghastly scenes of martyrdom have been carried away from Spain, and are now in the Continental Galleries.

[2] The quotation is from Kugler's *Handbook*. But the same opinion, in varied forms, is reiterated by many writers. Professor Carl Justi alone dwells on the gentler side of Ribera's art.

indicated as the mirage of a dream—all give to the picture an infinite charm. It is a trinity of strength, reality, and tenderness.[1]

A series of paintings of the Magdalene[2] show how intimately—nay, how tenderly and delicately, Ribera could translate his characters. One scene reveals the saint kneeling in penitence in the desert. In the companion study we see her cast in remorse upon the ground, her head hidden with her crossed hands. The first study is the finer. The bowed figure, with the arms resting upon a block of stone, in the midst of a desert scene, has a rare beauty. The charm is enhanced by the brilliant colouring of the canvas.

It seems necessary to lay stress upon these pictures of sympathy and intimate detail. The sorrowing Magdalene, the radiant Virgin in "The Conception" at Salamanca, the gentle and melancholy St. Agnes of the Dresden Museum, the tender and unaffected "Holy Families" at Córdova, Toledo, and elsewhere, are as truly the revelation of Ribera's art as the tortured St. Bartholomew, or Ixion broken upon the wheel. There is a little picture of "St. Joseph with the boy Jesus" in the Royal Gallery, a simple study, painted in the *genre* spirit of homely truth. The scene is a transcript from the shop of a Spanish carpenter. The boy Christ stands beside his father and helps him in his handicraft. It is a conception of tender charm. We must remember these pictures if we are to estimate Ribera rightly. Realism was the basic foundation of his utterance. He conceived every subject with the vividness of his dramatic nature. Afterwards, he rendered each scene, each figure, with absolute truth, in

[1] "Jacob watering the Flocks of Laban" and "Jacob receiving the Benediction of Isaac," in the Sala Capituláres of the Escorial, are conceived in the same spirit as this work.

[2] There is a fine "Assumption of the Magdalene" in the Académia de Bellas Artes. It is an early work, and very powerful.

La Escala de Jacob.

(Jacob's Dream.)

order that it might accord with the inner vision implanted in his brain.

Ribera has left a few excellent portraits. The blind sculptor Gambazo in the act of modelling the head of Apollo, is a subtle study. Sightlessness has never been more truly painted. With unerring touch and overmastering vigour Ribera realises his every scene. Stereotyped religious themes gain fresh force from his strong handling. Perhaps more completely than any of his contemporaries, Ribera united realism with the Roman Catholic spirit. His strength was his power of depicting individual figures. Possibly his art may want in versatility, and there is a certain distinctive manner in all his pictures; but the directness of his aim, the sureness of his handling, the vivid glow of his colouring, and the individual truth of his every conception cannot be challenged.[1]

The sway Ribera exerted over his immediate successors was great. He had many pupils, among whom were Salvator Rosa, Aniello Falcone, and Luca Giordano. In later years, Giordano went to Madrid, where his rapid and exaggerated execution hastened the decline of Spanish painting; for the strength of Ribera had a tendency to degenerate into distortion in the painting of his imitators. His luminous shadows became black and opaque, his strength of modelling ended in contorted caricature,

[1] Among the remaining pictures by Ribera in the Prado, the following are the most interesting:—"The Entombment of Christ," remarkable for the dramatic force of the figures grouped around the grave; a realistic study, depicting two women in the act of fighting; "St. Peter delivered from Prison by an Angel;" "St. Paul the Hermit," and three presentments of St. Jerome, all vigorous pictures, strong both in their conception and in their handling; and a "Holy Trinity," recalling the manner of Correggio. The crucified son is sustained by the Father, while a dove, the symbol of the Holy Spirit, rests upon His breast.

while the result of his rapid execution was often utter debasement. But this degraded outgrowth of Ribera's strong personality had no immediate influence in Spain. His pictures were received in his own country with a frenzy of enthusiasm. They became the standard upon which many workers moulded their style. His work united the sentiment of Spain with an Italian freedom of handling, and his pictures did much to strengthen and intensify the ever-increasing impulse for reality and truth of artistic utterance.

Bartolomé Esteban Murillo.

BY MIGUEL DE TOBAR.

CHAPTER XIII.

BARTOLOMÉ ESTEBAN MURILLO (1617-82)—THE GREAT RELIGIOUS PAINTER OF SPAIN.

BARTOLOMÉ MURILLO was pre-eminently the painter of his own age and his own province. The work of El Greco and Velazquez was, as we have seen, the vivifying impulse that animates the artistic life of to-day; and this spirit of permanence is found, in lesser degree, in the paintings of Zurbarán and Ribera. In the work of all these painters is an underlying element of universal truth. Their art belongs to the world as well as to Spain. Murillo was impelled by the same desire for realism, but his interpretation of the animating impulse of the seventeenth century was localised. His religious idyls were conceived for Andalusia, and the artistic result to the world would be the same if these pictures had never been painted.

There is no element of permanence in Murillo's conceptions, and his work depends for its charm upon its execution, and not upon its inspiration. The painter's handling is at times excellent, and often we are carried away by the witchery of his colour. But intellectually we remain unsatisfied; instinctively we realise a want in the artistic ideal of his work. His pictures are like the fashions of a past age. We gaze upon them, we appreciate their significance for their own era, but to-day their message is silent, except as historical illustrations.

Murillo echoes the very spirit of the life around him. His pictures represent the religious emotion of his period; they may fittingly be termed "the embodied expression of Spanish Catholicism."

In Spain materialism and religion were intimately united. Paintings and statues were bought by the Church to increase the pious fervour of the populace; and the primal necessity for a religious work of art was that it should appeal directly to the emotion. This is exactly what was accomplished by Murillo's paintings. Zurbarán's studies of monkish asceticism and Ribera's scenes of passionate martyrdom were clothed in Catholic dress; but their inspiration was the universal truth of conflict and struggle, and they belong to no country and to no religion. Murillo's pictures are the visible result of Catholic Spain in its sensuous and emotional aspect. His art is not an utterance of his own, but of Catholic individuality. Herein was his limitation. His pictures typify the Andalusian ideal, but they do not reveal universal life. He depicted a phase from the life around him that was transitory and localised. He peopled his scenes with the common types of Andalusia, yet he surrounded them with the idealism of Catholic convention. In seeking to realise this dual counterfeit of natural life and heavenly ideal, Murillo lost dignity and universal truth. His drawing and his colouring delight the eye, but the thought behind what is portrayed is empty.

Painting gains more than it loses by limitation. Artistic truth can only be attained by selection. Murillo failed to comprehend these verities. He strove to unite the actual with the ideal, and to express thoughts beyond the power of his own inspiration. The decorative simplicity that governs all great art is wanting in his work. He poses his figures in attitudes which might be natural as passing movements, but the result is affectation when these postures are imprisoned upon the canvas. His figures are Andalusian men and women, but they are studied into unreality. In spite of all their charm, his beggar-boys are always posed, and their rags are more picturesque than true. The very animals in his pictures

are painted in arranged positions. Every detail of scene and atmosphere is emotionally interpreted. Murillo's realism was not the actuality of Velazquez and Zurbarán; he was not content simply to record what he saw. Instead, he painted what the Church had taught him men ought to see.

Murillo's painting, then, for the reasons already assigned, misses that strict fidelity to universal truth necessary to raise him among the great painters of the world. Yet, if his message for the race fails, from want of this permanent significance, as a Spanish painter, his work is of infinite moment. Perhaps no other artist has ever expressed so intimately a local ideal. Murillo will always be the favourite painter of Spain. Zurbarán was more national, and his art embraces more fully all the traits of the Spanish character; but his pictures do not mirror the throbbing, emotional spirit of Southern Spain. As symbols of one development of the national religious life, Murillo's pictures are supreme. He translated the Catholic faith into the common language of the people. The Andalusians saw their saintly legends re-told in his pictures with an intimate idealism they could perfectly understand. This Murillo effected. He was the pioneer painter in a new Spanish presentment of sacred scenes. In this sense Murillo achieved the greatness of initial accomplishment. He painted pictures as they had never before been painted in Spain. For Andalusia his discovery was great, but for the world it was meaningless.

In Seville his art was regarded as divine, and his pictures appeared to his contemporaries as an illumination from God. The position the painter occupies in the heart of manifold Spaniards is almost unprecedented. To this day a picture of great merit in Seville is termed a "Murillo." During his life his canonisation was assured, and upon his death he was eulogised until his name echoed throughout Europe as the greatest painter of his country.

And the magnitude of his message for Andalusia was mistaken for a universal utterance.

Few incidents of any import stand forth from the calm record of Murillo's life. His gentle, loving, peaceful character exempted his biography from dramatic incidents. The stormy territorial temper was not dominant in Murillo. His nature was the sweeter, mystic type sometimes met with in the southern provinces, where the native stock is intermingled with an Oriental strain. Bartolomé Esteban was born at Seville, as the year 1617 waned. His father, Gaspar Esteban, and his mother, Maria Perez,[1] were humble toilers in the city. We have no incidents of Bartolomé's childhood before his eleventh year, when a malignant epidemic killed his parents. The boy was left alone with a young sister. Their uncle, Don Juan Agustin Lagares, a poverty-stricken *medico*, did what he was able to guard the children. Bartolomé's desire was to paint, and he was sent to work in the studio of his relative, the dull academic, Juan del Castillo, who received the eager boy without the accustomed payment. Here the young Murillo mixed and pounded colours, prepared canvases, and acquired the rudiments of his art. He worked with the utmost zeal, and when only fifteen painted a picture of the "Virgin with St. Francis," for the Convent de Regina.[2] In 1640[3] Juan del Castillo left Seville for Cadiz, and from this time Murillo was his own teacher. Necessity compelled him to paint pictures that

[1] It is not certain whether the painter's name belonged to his father or to his mother. Probably it was the former. In a document in Seville Cathedral the name Murillo occurs in the genealogy of his father's family.

[2] Sir Edmund Head says the "work is hard and flat, and possesses little or no promise of the artist's future excellence." At the time Sir Edmund Head wrote, the picture was in the collection of Prebendary Pereria, at Seville.

[3] This date is sometimes given as 1639.

would find purchasers, and in this way it became an almost instinctive object that his work should please. A picture he had painted of the Virgin with attendant saints had gained some notice, and a few commissions came from the smaller churches and convents.[1] The prices given to unrecognised painters were very small, and Murillo had to eke out a precarious livelihood by executing rude pictures on saga cloth,[2] which he sold at the Feria, a weekly fair, held every Thursday in the Macarena, the poor *barrios* or slum-suburb of Seville. This work of picture-making was meretricious for the young student. Painting upon the saga cloth gave looseness and freedom of handling, but truth was the last essential for a *pintura de la Feria.*[3] Living models were never used for the figures, and the whole scene was painted to arrest the gaze of the passer-by. Often a canvas would be hastily re-painted to meet the fancy of an intending purchaser. A figure would be painted out, or new forms introduced, with scant regard to artistic fidelity.

It is impossible not to lament this early training of the Sevillian painter. We long that, like Ribera, he had been content to beg and starve while he painted what he really saw, until he had trained himself, unfettered by the idea that his work would have to sell. Murillo's insight was great. His beggar boys and girls witness how much he learned during his long, dreary vigils in the Macarena. Yet of necessity he looked upon his models from the standpoint of their capacity for making pictures. It was a secondary essential that their presentment should be absolutely real. Thus, from its inception, Murillo's truth

[1] One or two of these early works are treasured in private collections in Seville; but it is almost impossible to be certain that the information given about them is correct. Sir Edmund Head mentions several early pictures in places where they are not now to be seen.

[2] See p. 74.

[3] This term is still used to describe a bad picture in Seville.

of vision was tainted with the necessity for pretty and picturesque interpretation.

The monotony of this life of artistic struggle was broken in 1642 by the return of Pedro de Moya.[1] Murillo's old studio-friend was fired with the incidents of his year's travel. The augmented power he had gained from his months of study in England, with Van Dyck, was very manifest. His eager recountal of the glory of his master, and the sketches he brought of the many pictures he had seen, awakened the dormant passion of Murillo. He determined to visit either Rome or Flanders, that he too might see the wonders Moya related.

Immediately he set to work and painted a number of rough pictures of popular saints and pretty scenes, which he speedily sold at the Feria, to the merchants trading with the Spanish Colonies in South America. With this tiny fund he travelled on foot to Madrid, where he sought the counsel and protection of Velazquez. The Court painter was delighted with the enthusiasm of the penniless Sevillian, and received him with great kindness. He advised him, for a time, to work at Madrid, and gave him lodging in his own apartments, while he obtained permission for him to copy the royal pictures in the Court galleries.

A new world was revealed to Murillo. His spirit answered to the inspiration, and an unexpected power guided his brush. He laboured diligently, copying the pictures of Ribera, Velazquez, and Van Dyck. Probably his love of Spain guided the selection of his models, for his sympathy with the manner of Velazquez and Ribera could not have been great. But he was specially attracted by the soft lighting of Van Dyck.

At the termination of two years Velazquez advised Murillo to visit Rome and Florence. He offered him

[1] See p. 140.

letters of introduction and the money necessary to cover his expenses. All that was possible was done to arouse the young painter's ambition to undertake the journey. Yet for some reason Murillo refused to continue his apprenticeship, and instead he returned to Seville.

It is useless striving to estimate the probable effect an Italian training would have exercised upon Murillo's style. Possibly his inspiration would have been widened. But Murillo's temper was gentle, and he had little of the strong nature that belongs to the explorer. Again, he loved Andalusia passionately, and was never happy away from Seville. These may have been the reasons why he declined to study in Italy. At no period of his life did Murillo manifest a prolonged and ardent desire for self-study. It was his ambition to produce pictures, and apparently he was satisfied with the augmented training he had gained at Madrid.

Murillo's earliest work after his return was a series of studies on the Legend of St. Francis, painted for the decoration of the Franciscan Convent.[1] The pictures burst upon the Sevillians as a miracle of wonder. No one in Seville knew of the painter's sojourn at the Court, and his old colleagues had no knowledge of his new power. "It is all over with Castillo!" cried Antonio Castillo y Saavedra,[2] one of the ablest painters of Andalusia. "Is it possible that Murillo, the servile imitator of my uncle Castillo, can be the author of all this wondrous grace and beauty of colouring?"

The fame of Murillo was assured, and the unknown student became the most popular painter in opulent Seville.

[1] The Franciscan Convent was formerly situated behind the Casa del Ayuntamiento in Seville. It was burned to the ground in the eighteenth century, shortly after its artistic treasures had been rifled by Marshal Soult.

[2] See p. 162.

None of the Franciscan cycle of pictures are now in the Andalusian city, and only two, "The Charity of St. Diego," and "St. Francis listening to a Heavenly Musician," are in Spain.[1] The style in which these pictures are rendered is a matter of supreme interest. Murillo was fresh from studying the realism of Velázquez and Ribera. How would he interpret their truth? The two studies at Madrid display an intimate mingling of realism and emotion. Perhaps they may be best described as the work of a realist who desires to make a picture, rather than to record an event. The initial inspiration is religious, the figures are natural models posed into ideality, while the execution is strong and direct, with only an occasional indication of a softer and less rigid handling. It is probable that Murillo was still conscious of the necessity that his work should please. Absolute fidelity to his model was not his primary motive. His desire was to represent realised Roman Catholicity in a new and convincing manner. This aim he accomplished perfectly. But the national triumph was gained by a loss of artistic truth.

Many pictures were painted during these first years of success. In this early work the painter's handling retains the severity of the realists. His outlines are distinct, the light and shade are decided, while in many of the canvases the colour is dark. At the same time, the conception is simple, the subjects are serious or legendary, and often the religious scenes are *genre* studies in a sacred guise.

Many representative samples of this period of the painter's growth are now in the Madrid Gallery. The

[1] The remaining pictures were "The Death of St. Clara," reported as the finest of the series; "The Angel Kitchen," where an angel does the work of a Franciscan monk who has fallen into an ecstasy of prayer; "St. Giles in Rapture before St. Gregory," and "A Franciscan Monk Praying over a Friar."

Sacra Familia (del Pajarito).

The Holy Family (The Little Bird).

"Holy Family," known as "Del Pajarito," "Rebecca and Eleazar," and the "Adoration of the Shepherds," are the most striking. "Rebecca and Eleazar" is the earliest of the three studies. The draughtsmanship is excellent. It is one of the most realistic of Murillo's presentments, but the tones of the canvas are dark and somewhat hard. In the "Adoration of the Shepherds" the figures are less strong and the attitudes less simple; but in this case the colouring of the picture is very fine. "Del Pajarito," or the Little Bird, is the most natural of all Murillo's "Holy Families." The scene is very simple, and the little Christ is a sweet and artless child, leaning naturally against his father's knee. Almost the sole suggestion of the painter's love of attitudes is the pose of the dog and the position of Joseph's left hand. Both postures have the appearance of being arranged. Mary sits spinning in the background. Her face is beautiful, but without dignity. The handling of the paint is excellent, and the canvas glows with rich colour.[1]

Three strong studies of saints, painted in these early years, witness how strongly Murillo had felt the influence of Velazquez and Ribera. "San Ildefenso receiving the Sacerdotal Vestments from the Hands of the Virgin," a study of "San Bernardo," and "San Jerónimo kneeling in his Grotto"—these pictures have little affinity with the mysticism and unreality that mars his later work.[2]

[1] Other pictures belonging to this early period, in the Prado, are a study of the Virgin with the Infant Jesus on her knee, several conceptions of Christ, studies of different saints, and a picture of San Fernando, King of Spain. A picture of "La Annunciacion de Nuestra Señora," in Seville Museo, is also an early work. It is a fine study, very different from the painter's latter style. There is a sketch of the Virgin attributed to Murillo, in the Museo, that is treated wholly in the realistic spirit. If the work is his, it is a canvas of extreme interest. Probably it is a very early work, painted before the visit to Madrid.

[2] These pictures are all in the Prado.

Murillo's groups of beggar-boys—his pictures of pure *genre*—are closely allied with those homely religious scenes of intimate detail.[1] In these *genre* pieces Murillo's utterance is undirected by the Catholic ideal. Yet, in spite of their witchery, the pictures of young Andalusians share the limitation of the painter's scriptural compositions. The children of the street are always conceived as *pictures*. They are pretty, they are sweet, often they are charming, but they are not true children, or rather they are children arranged into picturesque unreality. The "Spanish Peasant Boy looking out of a Window," in the National Gallery, is one of the simplest of these idyls; but the boy's rags fall just in the right position to reveal his finely-moulded shoulder. Look at all Murillo's beggar-children. Their rags are always carefully distributed. In almost every figure they drop prettily to display the neck and shoulders. The hands of the "Boys playing at Dice," in the canvas at Munich, are visibly posed to exhibit the fine painting of the fingers. In the "Beggar Boy and the Flower Girl" of the Hermitage, the self-consciousness of the posture destroys all the naturalness of the figures. Even the "El Piojoso," of the Louvre, the lousy boy in his garret, searches for the vermin in a picturesque attitude. The glow of the colour and the delicacy of the handling—these are the charm of the *genre* pictures. There is little merit in the thought of the work. In every instance the conception of the figures misses the simplicity of impersonal truth.

[1] Those pictures, invariably associated with Murillo's name in England and on the Continent, are rarely seen in Spain. There are none of the painter's studies of beggar-children either in Madrid or Seville. In England there are two at the National Gallery—a "Boy Drinking" and the "Spanish Peasant Boy"; three are in the Dulwich Gallery—a "Spanish Flower Girl" and two groups of "Peasant Boys." There are many others in private collections, and also in the Louvre, the Pinakothek at Munich, and the Hermitage at St. Petersburg.

It is usual to divide Murillo's artistic expression into three periods, marked by the variations in his fashion of painting. The early work is known as the *Estilo Frio*, or cold manner; the later pictures are classified as the *Estilo Cálido*, or warm style; while the last compositions, of melting tones, are known as *El Vaporoso*. In Spain it has been customary to eulogise the latter work, for these pictures most perfectly fulfil the emotional ideal of Andalusia.

For this reason I would suggest a new division, that depends upon the thought of the work rather than upon the manner of rendering—one that reverses the order, and places the early and more truthful work first in importance. All the initial religious pieces and the *genre* paintings may be tabulated as *natural work tinged with the unreal*. From this hovering between realism and emotion, Murillo's manner gradually changed, until *the natural was mingled with the unreal*, and it becomes difficult to differentiate between the ideal and the fact. In his last work *the natural was lost in the unreal*, and all trace of direct rendering of nature faded in mystic emotion.

The only pictures that cannot be included in this analysis are a small group of portraits. Murillo is little known for his skill in portraiture.[1] Few of his likenesses are found in the public collections of Europe, perhaps the best is a bust study of a young man in the gallery at the Hague. Even in Spain his portraits are rare, and yet they are his truest and finest work. In his presentments of living men, Murillo seems to have forgotten the baneful desire of converting his canvas into a picture. His studies of "St. Leander" and "St. Isidore," in the Sacristía Mayor of

[1] The earliest portrait of which we have any record was painted before the Madrid journey. It was executed for the monks of the Franciscan convent, and was a likeness of Archbishop Urbina. Sir Edmund Head, speaking of the work, says the execution was hard, but the head had considerable power.

Seville Cathedral, are grand instances of his power.[1] Living models represented the saints, and the figures are veritable portraits, simply posed and magnificently handled. Every detail is rendered with faithful care, and the faces are strongly painted to enforce the individual characters. Clad in white robes, with episcopal crowns upon their brows, the figures sit,[2] a testimony to Murillo's ability in portraiture.[3]

[1] St. Leander is supposed to present Alonso de Herrera, the leader of the cathedral choir, while St. Isidore is the portrait of Juan López Talaban, the licentiate.

[2] Carl Justi writes of these portraits: "We are struck by the fact that their individual truthfulness is purer, freer from the conventional pattern, than many highly esteemed portrait-painters of the century."

[3] There are three portrait studies in the Prado—P. Cavanillas, a bare-footed monk, dressed in the habit of his order, a sketch of a woman spinning, and another of a Galician woman counting money. These studies are closely allied to a fine work in the possession of Lord Heytesbury, which shows two Galician women gossiping. Mr. Munro, of Novar Ross, has a repetition of this picture. It is also engraved in Sir W. Stirling-Maxwell's *Annals of the Artists of Spain.* Mr. Sanderson, of Belgrave Square, has a beautiful portrait of a woman, supposed to have been the friend of Murillo. A strong portrait of the "Inquisitor Don Andreas Andrade" was among Louis Philippe's pictures in the Louvre. This study was highly praised by Wilkie. A portrait of Murillo's servant was in the same collection. At Stafford House there is a likeness of "Ambrosio Ignacio de Spinola," from the collection of Baron de Faviers. The fine portrait of "Don Justino Neve," the founder of the Hospital de los Venerables, at Seville, is now in the gallery of the Marquis of Lansdowne, at Bowood. Murillo executed several likenesses of himself. All prove he was endowed with the Spanish gift for portraiture. The earliest presentment was painted for his children while he was still young. The face is simple, gentle, and thoughtful; the hair long and dark. For many years the portrait remained in Spain. It was sold at the sale of Louis Philippe, and now belongs to the family of the late Baron Selliere. A second portrait was painted when Murillo was older. A copy of this work by his pupil, Miguel de Tobar, is in the Madrid Gallery. The original is believed to be the picture at Althorp, belonging to Earl Spencer. These portraits

Portrait of San Leandro.

by Murillo.

Murillo's position in Seville was one of assured admiration. In 1640 he married Doña Beatriz de Cabrera y Sotomayor,[1] a noble and wealthy señoríata from Pilas, a village near Seville. The painter's house in the Plaza de Alfaro[2] became the *point de réunion* for the cultured in Seville.[3] Murillo toiled incessantly, painting many sacred legends for the cathedral and convent churches of the city. Gradually he abandoned the style gained during his period of realistic study at Madrid. His naturalism was now, not tinged, but strongly intermingled with unreality. The attitudes of his figures became more emotional and theatrical; his outlines were rounder and less defined, although the drawing was still careful; while his colours began to assume his distinctive tones of melting transparency.

Many pictures belong to this era. The most noteworthy canvas, still left in Seville, is the "Vision of the Holy Child by St. Antony of Padua,"[4] which was commissioned by the Cathedral Chapter in 1656.

have been engraved several times. Don López Cepero, at Seville, has a study of a head, believed to be the last likeness of himself executed by Murillo. It is an unfinished sketch ; the background is very dark, but the head has considerable power.

[1] There were three children from this marriage—two sons, Gaspar and Gabriel, and a daughter Francisca. All consecrated themselves to the Church : Francisca entered a convent, and her brothers became priests. Gaspar painted a few bad pictures.

[2] The house now occupied by Señor Don López Cepero. See p. 32.

[3] It is an interesting fact that Murillo's name is not mentioned by Pacheco. He must have known the painter when he was in Madrid. Probably the omission was due to jealousy for the fame of his favourite Velazquez.

[4] The earliest work painted in the second manner was a colossal "Conception," executed for the Brotherhood of the True Cross, for the sum of 2,500 reales, in 1655. A "Nativity of the Virgin" was painted for the Cathedral Chapter about the same period. The picture was received by the Sevillians with a burst of enthusiasm. The canvas was carried from Seville by Marshal Soult.

This mystic vision has not the truth of Murillo's early work. The Christ has none of the truthful simplicity of the Child in the "Del Pajarito." He is a theatrical little angel, posed unnaturally in the sky. The picture is venerated in Seville. It is a local translation of a treasured legend; but apart from its religious significance, the conception of the scene leaves the spectator unmoved. There is more merit in the figure of the saint, but nothing in the picture can be unreservedly praised except the fine and glowing colour.[1]

Shortly after this time Murillo adopted his distinctive personal style, and the natural that had lingered in his work became lost in the unreal. It is impossible not to feel the witchery in the handling of many of those pictures. The glow of the warm yellows against the cool grey of the backgrounds enchants the eye. Often the flesh hues are tinged with the light of sun, and we forget the poverty of the conception in the fused glory of the tones. Still, the figures, posed in this subtly interwoven light, are not personalities with individual and living character; they are attitudinised types, masquerading as pretty saints, virgins, and angels. Murillo's imagined creations never live in our memory. We do not realise them as vital personalities whose characters greet us from the canvas; we remember them simply as part of a sweet and pleasing picture. His figures are vacant; they have no special meaning to-day. Murillo painted beautiful canvases, but he did not create living art.[2]

[1] Murillo received 10,000 reales for this picture. (A real is 25 centimos.) In 1874 the figure of the saint was cut from the canvas and stolen. The missing portion was found in New York and returned. It was considerably injured, and the picture is much repainted. The light in the Capilla del Bautisterio, where the picture hangs, is very poor.

[2] The first pictures executed in the last manner were painted for the Church of Santà Maria la Blanca, to illustrate the legend of "Our

La Caridad de San Juan de Dios.

(*The Charity of St. John of God.*)

BY MURILLO.

Two great cycles of pictures form the glory of Murillo's later years—the series painted for La Caridad shortly after 1670, and his last great work, the pictures executed for the Capuchin Convent between 1674 and 1680.

Of the eight scenes painted for La Caridad, three remain in their original position—"Moses Striking the Rock," "The Miracle of the Loaves and Fishes,"[1] and "The Charity of San Juan de Dios." The last is the finest work, and the canvas is illumined by shimmering colour. A light, reflected from the celestial messenger, sheds lustre upon the figures; the remainder of the scene is in gloom. The figure of the angel is vigorously drawn. He hastens to sustain the saint, who faints beneath the weight of the sick man he is bearing upon his shoulders.

"Moses Striking the Rock" has been eulogised by many writers. The picture hangs in the clerestory of the church far above the vision of the eye, but this fact cannot hide the defects of the canvas. The brush-work is thin and without depth, the tones are hard and cold, while no harmony blends the many tints. A certain dignity ennobles the figure of Moses, but his posture is theatrical.

Lady of the Snow." The studies were ordered by Murillo's patron, Canon Don Justino Neve. The four canvases were carried away by the French; two have been returned to Spain, and are in the Académia de Bellas Artes, at Madrid. The first is called "The Dream"—the Virgin appears to the wife of a Roman senator, and tells her where she will find a patch of snow upon which to erect a promised church. The picture is finely coloured. Sir W. Stirling-Maxwell and many writers term the Virgin "one of the loveliest of Murillo's conceptions." The second picture is called "The Fulfilment"—the senator and his wife relate their dream to the Pope. M. Viardot calls these paintings "the miracles of Murillo." The pictures that have not been returned to Spain are an "Immaculate Conception" and a study of "Faith."

[1] The Andalusian names for these pictures are "La Sed" (the thirst) and "Pan y Peces" (bread and fishes). Three small pictures executed at the same time as the large scenes still decorate the side altars of La Caridad. They are an "Annunciation," an "Infant Saviour," and a "Child Baptist."

The groups of thirsty Andalusians who throng the foreground are rendered in the *genre* spirit. Many of the figures are well drawn. All are more or less attitudinised, and the whole conception misses the dignity of great composition.[1]

In the conception of the "Miracle of the Loaves and Fishes" all the faults of the companion scene are intensified. The figure of Christ is weak and unconvincing, while the two unconnected masses of figures, divided by a view of distant hills, fatally destroy the decorative aspect of the grouping. Murillo had none of the sustained, creative power of thought that alone produces harmony and dignity from a crowded scene.

Five remaining pictures were carried away from Spain by Marshal Soult.[2] "St. Elizabeth washing the Head of a Leprous Child," the finest among the group, has been recovered by the Spaniards, and is now at Madrid. The scene is a study of contrasts, which specially accords with Murillo's power. Here the beggars are more simple and

[1] Wilkie writes of these compositions after his visit to Seville: "Seeing their great reputation, these pictures would at first disappoint you. They are far from the eye, badly lighted, and much sunk in their shadows, and have in consequence a grey, negative effect. The choice of the colour in the 'Moses' is poor, and the chief figure wants relief. The great merit of the work lies in the appearance of nature and truth which he has given to the wandering descendants of Israel."

[2] Three of the Caridad pictures are now in England. "Abraham Receiving the Angels" and "The Prodigal's Return" belong to the Duke of Sutherland. Cean Bermudez thinks the latter conception equals the "St. Elizabeth" in power. There is merit in the figure of the Prodigal, but the little barking dog and the boy leading the fatted calf are hopelessly arranged. The third picture, "The Healing of the Paralytic," is the property of Mr. Tomline, of Carlton House Terrace. Christ's figure has more dignity than is customary in Murillo's imagery. The colour-scheme of the picture is excellent. The last work of the series, "The Release of St. Peter from Prison," is in the Hermitage at St. Petersburg.

less posed than many of his figures. The man upon the ground sits in a natural attitude, although the repellent details of his diseased body are too ostentatiously displayed to be unaffectedly true, while the woman seated on the step upon the left of the saint is a creation of fine power. Murillo's realisation of St. Elizabeth has less strength. Her pose is stagey, and her humility and her charity are pictorial rather than real. The lighting of the canvas is excellent, and the tones glow, in spite of the work having been re-touched. All the accessories are carefully painted. The white veil that rests upon the flushing pink of St. Elizabeth's forehead is executed with fine power.

Murillo's painting of drapery is always good, and he was specially skilful in rendering white linen, yet it cannot be said that he attained greatness in his painting of stuffs. Where he fails is in the arrangement of his folds. Few of his pictures have really noble drapery. A sense of decorative beauty is wanting in the massing of the colours and in the direction of the lines; and this is true in spite of the charm of the actual painting.

Seventeen of the pictures executed for the Capuchin Convent are gathered in the Museo de la Merced. Nowhere can Murillo be studied with the same advantage as in the local gallery of Seville. Here we can trace the full development of his utterance. The early "Annunciation," with its directness and effort of simplicity, can be contrasted with the three "Conceptions" where an idealised Mary melts in ethereal mistiness. In no other place can the local and Catholic spirit of Murillo be so fully comprehended.

One of the simplest canvases pictures "Santas Justa y Rufina," the guardian saints of Seville.[1] They stand

[1] It is interesting to compare this conception of the guardian saints of Seville with the picture by Francisco Goya upon the same subject (see p. 278). Santas Justa y Rufina were potters living in

supporting the Giralda Tower, to guard it from the ravages of tempest. The colour of the picture is delicate. This is true of almost all Murillo's work. His tones are always refined and glowing. Fine blues of ultramarine, tender shades of peach and pink, and rich yellows contrast with the tints of local brown, giving an abundant mellowness of colour. In many canvases the light and shade is striking, although the effects of glimmering vision are often stagey and unreal.[1]

Murillo multiplied his types, and his saintly visions are realised in similar forms. The figures are alike, the name alone differs. In dual studies the Christ appears to San Antonio de Padua; San Félix de Cantalicio is visited by the Virgin, and again by the Saviour; while San Pedro Nolasco has a vision of Mary. These are all companion studies, analogous in inspiration and handling. They are conceived in the final, illusory manner of the painter, where the drawing is weak and the outlines are blurred, obliterated in luminous vapour. The strongest saintly figure is a presentment of the Baptist. In all the scenes the rendering of the accessories is excellent, and the drapery is often finely painted. The pontifical robes of San Leandro y San Buenaventura are splendent masses

the suburb of Triana. During the Roman occupation of Seville they suffered martyrdom for their adherence to the Christian faith. They were canonised and made the guardians of the city. During a terrible storm they are supposed to have saved the Giralda from destruction. They are always painted with the Tower. Generally they hold cups, as emblems of the potters' trade, while the lions who tortured them crouch at their feet. The model Murillo depicts in these saints appears in many of his pictures. Some critics think it was his wife.

[1] The Sevillian school was distinguished for its fine shades of a rich red brown. The colour is known as *negro de hueso* (dark bone). It is made from the burnt bones of *olla*, and is still manufactured in Seville. We are told that Murillo worked with a reed pen. He was very particular about the quality of his colours, and it was his custom to tint many of his pictures with liquorice.

of lustrous paint. A vision of St. Francis is impaired by an injudicious blending of the real with the impossible. Two fluttering, meaningless cherubs hover unsupported, in a position that is neither decorative nor real. The saint upholds the Christ, who bends from the cross and returns his embrace. Their figures are tender and simple. If the angels were blotted out, the vision would be a fine conception. "Santo Tomás de Villanueva succouring the Poor" was the work Murillo esteemed above all his compositions. He was wont to call it *sio lienzo* (his own picture). The scene afforded the sharp contrasts that appealed to his national dramatic instinct. Santo Tomás, robed in black and with a white mitre, stands at the door of his cathedral, administering alms. A filthy beggar rests at his feet, while penurious men and women are grouped in the foreground. They are ragged and dirty, yet they are picturesquely posed. A small urchin, exulting over the reales that have fallen to his share, is a typical Murillo beggar-boy.[1]

All the Capuchin pictures are dramatic. They breathe the very essence of Catholic sentiment. They are not elevated in thought, and often the saintly emotion is weak and sentimental. Even the beauty of their colour tends to be over-luscious. The canvases lack vigour, and they want truth.

The legend of the Immaculate Conception is intimately interwoven with the name of Murillo. Worship of the

[1] The remaining pictures in Seville Museo are—"The Virgin de la Servilleta," erroneously credited with having been painted upon a serviette for the cook of the Capuchin Convent; "The Virgin supporting the Dead Christ," known as "La Piedad" (the Pity); "Mary with the Niño Jesus in her Arms"; an "Adoration of the Shepherds"; and three studies of "San Agustín." The large altar-piece of the "Porciuńcula," which decorated the retablo of the Franciscan Convent, is now at Madrid. The picture has been badly re-painted; only the outlines can be called the work of Murillo.

Virgin Mother was a treasured dogma of the Spanish Church. At the earnest instigation of Philip IV., a papal edict was issued in 1617, declaring the immaculate nature of Mary. "Seville flew into a frenzy of joy." Magnificent celebrations were organised in the cathedral. It became the desire of all the religious painters of the century to celebrate the triumph. To this task Murillo bent all the passion and power of his brush. More than twenty times he translated the legend of the Conception into the language of Spain. His interpretation of the mystery of Mariolatry invested the young mother with a new charm. His visions appealed to the inner heart of his countrymen. They are still reverenced throughout the peninsula.

Murillo's earliest rendering of the subject was painted in 1652 for the Brothers of the True Cross.[1] In 1668 the Chapter commissioned him to paint a vision of the Immaculate Conception and eight studies of local saints[2] for the Sala Capitular of the cathedral. This picture was completed ten years before the far-famed "Conception" of the Louvre,[3] when Murillo was still conscious of the

[1] This first "Conception" was of enormous size. The brush-work was loose and broad to allow for the height from which the picture was destined to be viewed. A story is told that when the friars first saw the canvas in the painter's studio, they objected to the roughness of the workmanship. Murillo asked them to refrain from judgment until the picture was hung in its intended site. When this was done, the admiration of the brothers was unbounded; but Murillo compelled them to pay twice the stipulated amount before he would permit them to retain the work.

[2] These saints are oval studies, ranged around the Sala Capitular. Upon the right are San Hermengild and San Isidor, Archbishop Pius and Santa Justa; while King Fernando, Archbishop Laureano, San Leando, and Santa Rufina hang upon the left wall.

[3] This "Conception" was painted in 1678 for the Church of Venerables in Seville. The canvas was carried from Spain by Marshal Soult, and was bought by the French nation at the sale of his stolen pictures.

El Tiñoso.

(St. Elizabeth of Hungary ministering to the Sick.)

BY MURILLO.

La Concepción.

BY MURILLO.

sway of naturalism. The creation is little known, for the canvas is still hidden in the dimness of the cathedral. Yet it is the most beautiful of Murillo's "Conceptions." Mary is not lost in vaporous unreality. The lines of her tall figure have a supple charm, and her face, encircled with long tresses of luminous black, is dignified and very beautiful.

Second only in popularity to the "Immaculate Conceptions" are Murillo's renderings of holy children. His pictures of the "Niño Jesus," and the "Baptist with a Lamb," have been widely lauded, and the familiar "Los Niños de la Concha,"[1] where the child John quenches the thirst of a tiny Jesus with water from a shell, is one of the most popular of his works. These child lyrics are pretty pictures, and they are beautifully handled; but the attitudes of the sacred children are all studied, and even the lambs are posed into pleasing effects. The work belongs to the least natural expression of Murillo, and he has made no effort to record the actual vision of his sight. Thus, the lover of truth turns from the pictures unsatisfied.

A sweeter and simpler example of Murillo's power of depicting youth is a picture, in the Madrid Gallery, of "Santa Ana giving a Lesson to the young Virgin." The girl kneels by her mother's side, and points with her finger to the page of the book from which she is reading. Both figures are simply robed, while their pose is natural. Two falling cherubs, who theatrically hold a crown of flowers above the kneeling Mary, are the only blot upon the homeliness of the scene. A

[1] The three pictures are from the collection of Doña Isabel Farnesio, and are now in the Prado. Murillo repeated these "Conceptions" many times in slightly varied forms. The "St. John with a Lamb," at the National Gallery, and the companion study of the "Good Shepherd," in the collection of the Baroness de Rothschild, may be cited as instances.

further child-study of undoubted charm is the "Angel de la Guarda"[1] in the Sacristía de los Cálices of Seville Cathedral. The scene is founded upon the text, "Take heed that ye despise not one of these little ones; for I say unto you, that in heaven their angels do always behold the face of my Father which is in heaven."[2] An angel, draped in rich yellow, points with one hand to heaven, while with the other she leads a tiny child. The figures are less sincere than in the study of Santa Ana; but the little one has a tender grace, and the form of the angel is unaffectedly beautiful. The picture is handled with delicate lightness, and the transparent drapery of the child's dress is perfectly realised.

It has appeared needful to dwell with some insistence upon the tendency of Murillo to create sacred scenes of picturised emotion, for the reason that this blemish is greatest in his most popular and best-known paintings. The fact of their Spanish and religious significance has surrounded them with a halo of undue importance. An echoed laudation has done much to obscure the true merit of Murillo. These theatrical representations are remembered, while much of his best and sincerest work is little known and little esteemed. The greatest of his pictures are the simplest, and his position in the estimate of the future will rest upon the scenes where, in some measure, he forgot the baneful necessity for pretty composition.

Towards Murillo, as a man, the critic can render unstinted praise. His great renown never lessened his humility, and his life is a sweet record of persisting toil, sincere faith, loving friendship, and of large-hearted kindness. He devoted many years to establishing an Academy

[1] This picture was one of the Capuchin series, painted in 1674. It was presented to the Chapter of the cathedral in 1818.

[2] Matthew xviii. 10.

of Arts in Seville for the training of young painters. By his urbanity he subdued the jealousy of Valdés Leal and Herrera *el mozo*, and with their help a local centre of art was opened on January 11th, 1660. The ruling power of the institution was placed in the hands of twenty artists,[1] and through the gentle suasion of Murillo, the finest painters of the city united in the effort. The funds for the enterprise were met by a self-imposed subscription of six reales, to be paid monthly by each of the twenty members. No settled fee was asked from the scholars, they were admitted for whatever money they were able to pay. The only prohibition placed upon them was a declaration of the orthodoxy of their faith. Severe regulations ruled the conduct of the pupils: conversation was forbidden, a fine was imposed for swearing, for uttering profane language, and for all offences against good manners.

Throughout these years of continuous labour Murillo remained in Seville, the city he never ceased to love zealously. Palomino tells us that in 1670 the painter was invited to Madrid by the special command of Charles II.,[2]

[1] A list of the names of all who took part in the opening of the Académia is given in Gestoso's *Diccionario de Artistas y Artifices*:—Presidents—Bartolomé Murillo, D. Francisco de Herrera; Cónsules—D. Sebastián de Llanos y Valdés, Pedro Honorio de Palencia; Disputado (deputy)—Juan de Valdés (Leal); Fiscal (treasurer)—Cornelio Schutt; Secretario—Ignacio de Iriarte; Mayordomo (steward)—Pedro de Medina; Académicos (scholars)—Matiás de Carvajal, Matiás de Arteaga, Antonio de Lejalde, Juan de Arenas, Juan Martinez, Pedro Bamirez, Bernabé de Ayala, Carlos de Negrón, Bernardo Arias Maldonado, Diego Díaz, Antonio de Zarzosa, Juan López Carrasco, D. Pedro Villavicencio, Pedro de Camprobín, Martín Atienza, Alonso Pérez de Herrera.

[2] The historian tells us that a "Conception," painted by Murillo, was exhibited in Madrid, where it created great enthusiasm, and the King desired to have the painter for his own servant; but at this period Charles was only a child. His Regent-mother, Mariana of

but the story is unreliable, and in any case Murillo did not visit the Court. Only once did he quit the Andalusian capital. In 1681 he was urgently invited to Cadiz[1] by the Capuchins, to paint an altar-piece upon the "Marriage of St. Catherine" and other pictures for their convent. The work was nearly completed when Murillo fell from the scaffolding, upon which he was standing in order to paint the upper portion of the canvas. He received a severe internal injury and immediately returned to Seville. Murillo was never able to use his brush again, and on April 3rd, 1682, he died.[2]

Even at his death the dramatic and picturesque attracted Murillo. He was buried by his own desire in the Church of Santa Cruz,[3] beneath his favourite picture, "The Descent from the Cross," by Pedro Campaña.[4] At this

Austria, cared nothing for art, and the story is extremely unlikely. Palomino gives as the reason for Murillo's not obeying the summons, that he was too old; but in 1670 Murillo would be only fifty-three. Probably the whole story is a fabrication of Palomino's fertile imagination.

[1] "The Holy Family," in the National Gallery, was painted during Murillo's sojourn in Cadiz. It is his latest important work that was completed. The exact history of the picture is not known. It is mentioned by both Palomino and Cean Bermudez. Probably it was executed as a private commission. It belonged to the family of the Marquis del Pedroso until 1810, during the time of the French War, when it was brought to this country. After several changes of ownership, it was bought for the National Gallery in 1827.

[2] Murillo was commissioned to paint an altar-piece and four small pictures. Two of the small works were completed before his fall, and are still at Cadiz. The "Marriage of St. Catherine" was partly finished. The central group of the Virgin, the saint, and Christ were finished, and have not since been touched. The remainder of the scene was painted by Meneses Osorio. The picture is in Cadiz.

[3] The Church of Santa Cruz was sacked and burned to the ground during the French War. The supposed site of Murillo's tomb is now marked by a simple slab, which was erected to his memory by the Académia de Artes.

[4] See p. 72.

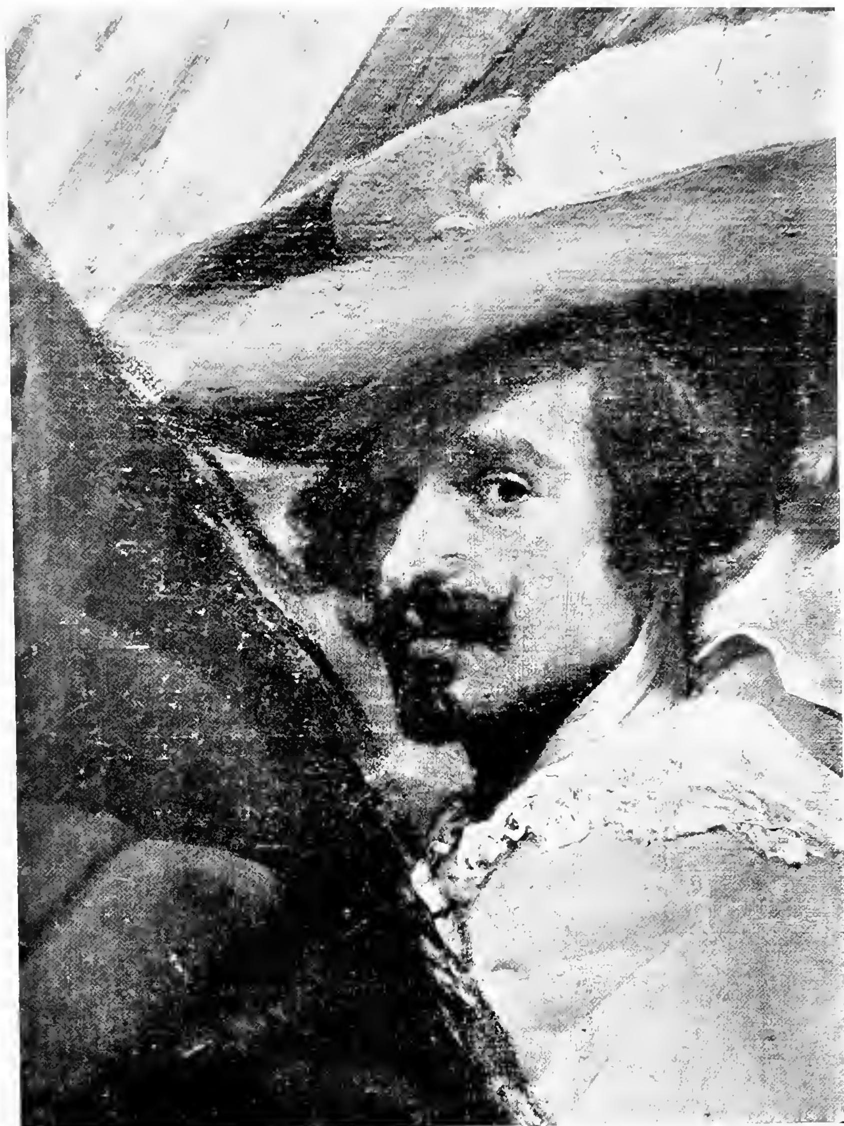
spot so often visited is the marble slab, engraved, as he had commanded, with his name, the figure of a skeleton, and the words "Vive moriturus."

The whole city sorrowed for Murillo's loss. His obsequies were conducted with solemn magnificence, and his bier was carried to the tomb by four marquesses and four knights.

CHAPTER XIV.

DIEGO RODRIGUEZ DE SILVA Y VELAZQUEZ, 1599-1660—THE GREAT COURT-PAINTER OF SPAIN.

We have now reached the history of the painter in whose commanding genius Spanish realism attained its crowning fulfilment. It is a fact of unbounded significance that Spain, a country whose art had been moulded by foreign standards, whose national individuality had been ever cramped by the benumbing burden of State and Church patronage, should give birth to a painter who remains the greatest initiator in modern art. Diego Velazquez unfolded a new interpretation for the realism idolised by his nation. He was not content to represent reality of fact alone; that work Ribera and the Spanish naturalists had already compassed. To him was given the newer and fuller inspiration of depicting the reality of impression. Velazquez struck a new chord in the harmony of art, and became the herald of the modern artistic vision. With inimitable mastery he blends the greatness of his predecessors with his own fresh message. Herein rests his unmatched greatness. It is this power of perfecting the old motives, and at the same time moulding them anew, with a fresh and personal insight, that gives to Velazquez his special place among the great workers of the world. Velazquez was a prophet as well as a supreme painter. His work unites the vision of the future with the consummation of the past. The accomplishment of Zurbarán, of Ribera, and of Murillo, was in each case limited. They never overleaped the confines of their own particular



RETRATO DE VELAZQUEZ (FRAGMENTO DE "LAS LANZAS)."

(*Portrait of Velazquez; a fragment from* "*Las Lanzas*)."

BY VELAZQUEZ.

boundary. They are fine painters, each has his distinctive and individual message, but no one of the three ever rises to universal greatness.

The case is different with Velazquez. In his utterance there was no faltering, and we might almost say no limitation. By the prompting of his inward power, step by step he realised his final goal of truth of impression. His art is so subtle—nay, in a sense, so simple—that often its strength is overlooked. The spectator, gazing for the first time upon one of his masterpieces—"Las Meniñas" or "Las Hilanderas," might be tempted to ask, "Is that all?" His living portraits have often disappointed the stranger who has no comprehension of the spirit of his genius. In the pictures of Velazquez we have the simplicity of life. The greatest of his studies are not decorative panels; they are something more than magnificent efforts of realism; they are vistas of actual life, placed breathing upon the canvas. In the interpretation of Velazquez, the passion for reality, that mainspring of Spanish art, finds its complete expression.

The significance of this fact is great. Velazquez overtowers all the achievements of his countrymen. Yet his position is not apart. It will be remembered that El Greco strove for unity of impression, and this fact links his work with the pictures of Velazquez. Yet the effort of the earlier master was incomplete, he never fully comprehended the wonderful mystery of air, both his drawing and his values were at times defective. Velazquez, on the other hand, had perfect mastery of manipulation; and, further, he was unshackled by religious tradition. The great impulsion, in the direction of naturalism, that vibrated through Spain in the seventeenth century, made it possible for him to develop his intense individualism. Of course there is a sense in which every genius remains alone, a solitary figure raised by his personality above his fellow-workers. But apart from this personal distinction,

Velazquez was, in very truth, the child of his age. In his early pictures we see strong evidence of the reaction against Italian conventionalism. His whole work is a vindication for reality of expression. The same impulse of naturalism governed his brush in transcribing his marvellous impression scenes, that impelled his fellow-workers as they painted their pictures of detailed realism. Portraiture, the distinctive art of dramatic Spain, was for Velazquez the chosen instrument of expression. All his pictures are portraits. In his compositions, whether religious or allegorical, he treats his models as sitters; while his landscapes are, for the most part, backgrounds for his figures, and his animal studies, with all their power, are nothing more than supplements to his portraits. Thus, Velazquez is truly a Spanish painter, and his pictures bear the distinctive character of his race. It is possible that the Portuguese admixture in his blood gave control and direction to his instinctive Spanish passion for dramatic representation. The time in which he lived was certainly a period adapted for self-utterance; while his position as the favoured friend of a monarch known for his love of art enabled him to attain the fulness of his power. All the strength, the dramatic passion, and the truth that through the centuries had illumined the work of the national painters of Spain, finds expression in his pictures—an expression perfectly real, very simple, and very strong. At length the inherent power of the Spanish school bore its fruit of ultimate triumph, and gave to the world its most truthful painter.

From the dawning of his life fortune greeted Velazquez. "To whom God loves he gives a home in Seville." Thus runs the Spanish proverb, and it was in this city, the fair centre of Andalusia, that Diego Rodriguez de Silva y Velazquez was born on the 5th day of June, 1599. His parents were of noble birth; thus, from his youth,

Velazquez was exempted from the withering necessity of picture-making. Juan de Silva, his father, belonged to an honourable Portuguese family, while his mother, whose name descended to her son, according to the Spanish usage, was a member of the old Sevillian nobility. The boy Diego was sent to the University of Seville, where, according to the quaint phrasing of his biographer Pacheco, "He was nurtured on the milk of the fear of the Lord." Diego's passion for painting was manifest from his childhood, and in 1612, when he was about thirteen. he entered the studio of the elder Herrera. For a year Diego worked with the irascible and passionate master; then, for some reason we do not know, he left the tuition of the strong pioneer painter, and became the pupil of patient, rule-loving Pacheco. It is fruitless striving to estimate the precise influence of this dual mastership. Indeed, the tuition of genius is a matter of secondary moment. All that is necessary for great workers is the opportunity for self-development. Zurbarán gained his essential training, when sketching, as a peasant lad, in the planes of Estremadura; Ribera acquired his dexterity of handling from his diligent painting in the streets of Rome. And even thus, the inspiration of Velazquez was wrested direct from Nature, while his mastery of technique was gained by his patient, incessant, and self-imposed toil. We learn the history of the young lad's steadfast striving from his master, Pacheco, who became his father-in-law and the devoted chronicler of his life.

This is what Pacheco writes in his *Arte de la Pintura*:—

"He kept a peasant lad, as an apprentice, who served for a model in an endless variety of actions and postures—sometimes crying, sometimes laughing, sometimes asleep and sometimes awake, and without avoiding any difficulty whatever, until he had grappled with every form of expression. From him he executed an infinite variety of heads in light and

shade, intensified with white on blue paper, and many others completely coloured, until, in this way, he arrived at certainty in rendering a likeness."

A passage, recorded by Palomino in his biography of Velazquez, again witnesses the strenuous work of the painter, as he patiently gained the mastery of his art by direct interpretation of nature.

The historian writes:—

"He took to representing, with a singular fancy and notable genius, beasts, birds, fishes, fish-markets, and tippling-houses, with a perfect imitation of nature; as also beautiful landscapes and figures of men and women, differences of meats and drinks, fruits of every sort and kind, all manner of furniture, household goods, or any other necessary, which poor beggarly people and others in low life make use of, with so much strength of expression and such colouring that it seemed to be nature itself."

This rare rigmarole of the Spanish Vasari unmasks the main inclination in the utterance of Velazquez. He cared little for his subject, and at all times how he painted, and not what he painted, was the question he considered. It is recorded that Velazquez remarked, "He would rather be the first of vulgar painters than the second of refined ones." With undeviating fidelity the young worker followed one course, and the entire power of his genius was bent to the faithful portrayal of nature.

The realistic impulse of the seventeenth century, with its reaction against the dilettante prettiness of Italian mannerism, had reared the foundations of a movement which extolled representations of low life. A mass of what is known as *Picaresque* literature, reproducing the adventures of vagabond Spain, sprang into birth, and at the same time *bodegónes*, or simple studies of tavern and kitchen life, became popular with the naturalistic painters. Velazquez

discerned the impulse that was animating the life around him with the strength of his reserved and dramatic nature. He rendered these simple studies of every-day life with unmatched skill. While still under the guidance of his father-in-law, Pacheco, he painted the "Adoration of the Magi,"[1] now in the Prado; "Christ in the House of Martha," the "Old Woman with an Omelet," and the "Water Seller,"[2] the latest and most important of his student work.

The power of these simple presentments cannot be over-estimated. They have all the directness and force which has at all times characterised the paintings of Spain, coupled with a fine restraint.

It was the extraordinary aptitude of these early pictures that caused Pacheco, in 1618, to unite his daughter Juana with Velazquez in marriage.

Let the historian tell the story in his own phraseology:

"After five years' education and training, I gave my daughter in marriage to Diego de Silva y Velazquez, being

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[1] This picture was painted in 1619, when Velazquez was just twenty. Mr. Stevenson notes the fact that more clearly than any other work it shows the influence of Pacheco. The composition minutely follows the rules fixed for the painting of the scene in the *Arte de la Pintura.*

[2] "Christ in the House of Martha" is in the National Gallery. The picture was bequeathed to the nation by the Right Hon. Sir W. H. Gregory in 1892. The "Old Woman with the Omelet" is in the collection of Sir Francis Cook, at Richmond. This picture and the "Water Seller" were exhibited at the Guildhall collection of Spanish pictures in 1901. The latter work is in the gallery of the Duke of Wellington. Either a sketch from this picture, executed by Velazquez, or a copy from an unknown hand, is treasured in the collection of Don López Cepero at Seville. The owner believes the study is the genuine work of Velazquez. A second rendering of this picture, of undoubted genuineness, is in the Royal Palace of Madrid. Many private collections in Seville have pictures that profess to be the early work of the painter, but their genuineness is very doubtful.

moved by his virtue, his purity, and his good parts, as well as by the hopes derived from his great natural genius. The honour of being his master is greater than that of being his father-in-law."

For the artist, whose supreme desire was to paint every-day life with unaffected truth, Seville was no home.[1] Realism, unless blended with ecstasy or mysticism, was opposed to the very essence of the Catholic mind. The mediæval spirit did not exist in Velazquez. He had selected truth to common nature as the load-star of his work. His pictures were untinged with the Spanish Roman Catholic ideal, and his heart vibrated with modern impulse. The truthful rendering of his homely scenes defied the traditional limitations of the Sevillian school. The painter yearned for a freer and wider field for the outgrowth of his genius than was possible in the Church-bound capital of Andalusia.

The death of Philip III., in 1621, afforded Velazquez the occasion he desired. The new monarch, Philip IV., though only a lad of fifteen summers, possessed considerable character. He dismissed his father's favourite, the Duke of Lerma, and chose for his counsellor the young Count of Olivarez, son to the Governor of the Alcázar, in Seville, and a known friend of poets and painters. This love and appreciation of the arts was the single gleam of brightness in years of civic ruin. Throughout his reign it was the ambition of Philip that his Court should be the *point de réunion* for the cultured in the nation. Spanish painting achieved the *plus ultra* of its utterance, while at the same time the national life slowly sank into degradation.

[1] It is an interesting fact that there is no picture by Velazquez in either the museo, the cathedral, or the churches of Seville. The city of his birth has no memorials of his genius, if we exclude the few pictures, already mentioned, of very doubtful authenticity, in the private collections that abound in the town.

In 1622 Velazquez went to Madrid, attended by the faithful Pacheco, who never quitted the service of his pupil. The young painter craved an audience with the king, but for some reason the favour was withheld, and after several months of waiting Velazquez and his father-in-law returned to Seville.

In the spring of 1623 they again sought the metropolis. A portrait, painted by Velazquez, of the poet Don Luis Góngora,[1] had attracted attention. Don Juan de Fonseca, a former canon of Seville Cathedral, and now the *sumiller de cortina* or royal chaplain, was the firm friend of the young painter. He spoke of the power of Velazquez to Olivarez. The minister was pleased with the possibility of interesting the King, and commanded that fifty ducats, to cover the cost of travel, should be sent forthwith, and the Sevillian genius requested again to visit Madrid.

Velazquez did not obtain an interview with the King at once. The entire attention of the Court was absorbed by the visit of Charles, Prince of Wales, on his mission to woo the Infanta. A portrait of Don Fonseca, executed during the period of waiting, was shown by Olivarez to Don Fernando, the brother of the King. The Prince caused the canvas to be carried to the palace, and in an hour the whole Court had seen it. Philip IV. was delighted with the skill of the new painter, and at once consented to sit for an equestrian portrait.[2]

Pacheco thus records the triumph of his pupil:—

"His Excellency, the Conde-Duque Olivarez, had now a first interview with him, and raised high his hopes, reminding him of the honour of his fatherland, and promising that he alone should paint his Majesty, and that all other portraits

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[1] Now in the Prado Museo.

[2] This work has unfortunately disappeared, also a sketch of Prince Charles, executed about the same time.

should be removed, for no other artist had really painted the King before."

His father-in-law tells us that the picture "was all painted from nature, even the landscape."

This first effort of Velazquez was exhibited to the citizens of Madrid in the Calle Mayor, upon the portal of the Church of San Felipe. "It excited the admiration of the capital," writes Pacheco, exulting in the success of his favourite, "and the envy of those of the profession, of which I can bear witness."

The position of Velazquez was assured. He was formally received into the King's service, and a residence was provided for him in the Calle de Concepción Jerónimo, a street in the heart of the city. In the palace itself a large studio was set apart for his use, communicating immediately with Philip's private apartments.

Velazquez now began the great labour of his life—the delineation of the royal master who was also his friend. Again and yet again he pictured the Hapsburg monarch, translating the history of his years. To another painter this restriction in composition would have resulted in repetition; but Velazquez cared little for the actual subject he had to paint, and this continual study of one face and figure only afforded him added possibilities for fresh and fuller insight. His portraits are more than likenesses, they are the true Philip.

The earliest presentment of the King is a bust study, now in the Prado, which was painted at the actual sitting on August 30th, 1623. A full-length likeness of the King in black, also in the Royal Gallery at Madrid, was executed from this sketch. Both are pictures of living power. All the portraits[1] painted during these

[1] The chief portraits painted at this time were a fine presentment of Olivarez, now at Dorchester House; likenesses of the Infante Don Carlos and of the Infanta Doña Maria, the brother and sister of

first years at the Court are rendered with the utmost fidelity. The handling is very vigorous, while the realism of the likeness is strongly accentuated.

The position of Velazquez in the Court was not without humiliation. In 1627 he received an increase of salary, consisting of the daily rations granted to a Barber of the Chamber, with an additional suit of clothes, to be provided once a year. His close intimacy with Philip awakened the jealousy of the Italian painters who were working in Madrid. They were incensed against his manner of painting. Vicente Carducci[1] spoke insultingly of "the detestable naturalism" of the new favourite, saying that he was "debasing a noble art to grovelling conceptions." He confidently affirmed that "portraiture was the lowest branch of art," and said that "no truly great painter had ever practised it."

Velazquez met these taunts with a characteristic reply: "These gentlemen pay me great honour," he told the King. "I, at least, know no one who can paint a good head."

To vindicate his power, Velazquez undertook to execute an allegorical scene, in competition with Carducci, Eugenio Caxes, and Angelo Nardi, the leaders of the Italian faction. The appointed subject was: "The Expulsion of the Moors from Spain."[2] Velazquez was successful, and this triumph left him the undoubted master of the Madrid painters.

In 1628 Rubens came to Madrid, as an ambassador

Philip IV.; and studies of the painter's wife, Juana Pacheco, and of two children, supposed to be his little daughters. All these pictures are in the Prado.

[1] See p. 137.

[2] This picture perished in the fire at the Prado, in 1734. No print or copy is known to exist, and we can only estimate the work from the description of Palomino, and the favourable verdict of Rubens, who saw the picture during his sojourn in Madrid.

from the Infanta Isabel, Regent of the Netherlands. Pacheco chronicles with pride the intimacy which arose between the great painter and Velazquez.

"Rubens associated little with painters," he writes; "only with my son-in-law he contracted a friendship, and formed a favourable opinion of his works, by reason of his modesty and power."

Velazquez was little influenced by his intercourse with the great Fleming. Personality was the prime factor that governed his genius, and he was too individually Spanish to be affected strongly by any outward spell. At all times his growth was subjective. "Los Borrachos," a picture said to have been painted under the direct scrutiny of Rubens, proves how true the Spaniard remained to his vision of truth. Perhaps this is the most national picture that Velazquez painted. Dionysus, the spirit of wine, a youth with supple limbs and firmly modelled body, places a laurel crown upon a soldier, who kneels before his feet. The god's glance of mingling humour, sensuality, and delight appears to mock the group of wine-drinkers, who are grouped about him. The conception shows the joyousness of wine rather than its degradation; but it is the serious joyousness of Spain — a sensuality strong and reserved. The row of common vagabonds, with their magnificently modelled heads, are depicted with naked realism. No painter, except a Spanish master, would have chosen such types to interweave with a Greek legend.

As separate studies these figures are unsurpassed. No words can picture their virility and living force. M. Viardot tells us that Wilkie used to sit for three hours before the canvas, gazing upon the figures, each day he was in Madrid. Yet the whole conception misses the unity of great composition. Regard the picture in detail, and it is supreme; judge it as a unity of effort, and its limitations

Los Borrachos.

(*The Topers.*)

BY VELAZQUEZ.

become manifest.[1] Velazquez was still clinging to the detailed realism of his contemporaries; he had not yet attained the fulness of his individual expression.

Velazquez first visited Italy in 1629. It is not needful to linger over the details of his journey. The two years of his sojourn were passed in Venice, Rome, and Naples. He visited the latter city to paint the portrait of Doña Maria,[2] Queen of Hungary, which is now in the Prado. He gained the friendship of Ribera, and we read how greatly he admired the strong realism of his Neapolitan countryman. From Pacheco we learn that Velazquez was specially attracted by the Venetian masters. His biographer tells us that "he drew incessantly the whole time he was in Venice," and again, that "the war alone prevented him from staying longer in the Venetian republic."

At Rome Velazquez met Salvator Rosa. We read that the Italian asked him if he did not think Raphael the greatest of all the painters he had seen in Italy.[3]

"To be frank with you, I do not like Raphael at all," was the reported answer of Velazquez. "In Venice I found the good and the beautiful."

The effect of this first Italian journey upon Velazquez is a question of supreme interest. We have said that the painter's genius was subjective, and he was too Spanish not to be strongly individual. The pictures, painted during his residence in Rome, have little trace of any lessening in his distinctive personality. Two sketches of

[1] A complete analysis of this subject is given by Mr. R. A. M. Stevenson in *The Art of Velazquez.*

[2] Doña Maria, the sister of Philip IV., was the princess betrothed to Charles, Prince of Wales. She possessed great beauty, and Buckingham wrote a glowing description of her manifold charm to King James I. of England.

[3] This conversation is recorded by Carl Justi. He founds his account upon the statement of Bochini.

the "Villa Medici" bear strong evidence of individual vision. They are scenes interpreted by the personal character of the painter. Again, the "Forge of Vulcan"[1] is an essentially Spanish rendering of a mythological theme. The picture is as forcibly realistic as "Los Borrachos." It is painted with the same powerfully-detailed conception. The nude figures of the strongly-modelled workmen are the main *motif* in the picture. Here, as in the companion work, the Greek legend is merged in a dramatic representation of common Spanish types. The sole indication of the southern influence is the figure of Apollo, which is somewhat conventional, and may have been founded upon an Italian model.

After his return to Spain, in 1631, Velazquez became pre-eminently the Court-painter. For thirteen years he executed royal scenes and royal portraits for the decoration of the King's palaces. It seems probable that this fact, rather than the influence of his Italian experience, explains the marked decorative intention that isolates this second group of pictures, separating them alike from the first realistic studies and from the last visions of complete impressionism. In the pictures painted after the Italian visit the emphasised realism of the early work becomes less individualised. Velazquez now uses brighter colours, his tints are less dark, and his handling is freer and more flexible. Both the portraits and the compositions of this period are realised more as a united whole, and less as unrelated figure-studies, and this unity is acquired by decorative treatment, rather than by atmospheric impression.[1]

All the pictures painted during these years are to a certain extent decorative compositions; and for this

[1] A fourth picture painted in Rome was "Joseph's Coat." It is now at the Escorial. The canvas has been much damaged and re-painted. It is difficult to judge of its merit. The "Forge of Vulcan" and the views of the "Villa Medici" are in the Prado.

La Fragua de Vulcano.

(*The Forge of Vulcan.*)

By Velazquez.

reason they are a less personal revelation of Velazquez, while they are less Spanish than his early work. We see traces of this scenic rendering in the two Scriptural pieces of "The Crucifixion" and "Christ at the Column,"[1] and this dramatic trait is still stronger in the hunting and equestrian portraits—those scenes of gay picturesqueness where the Spanish sierras show blue in the distance, living backgrounds that form a fit setting for the living figures. We see the same decorative treatment in the presentments of the "Boar Hunt," and in the scenes that show us "Don Baltasar in the Riding-school," while perhaps the scenic ideal is strongest in the magnificent historical composition of "The Surrender of Breda," the picture in which Velazquez proclaims his power of triumphing in pictorial ornament.

But this decorative tendency is explained by the end for which the pictures were destined. That Velazquez deliberately relinquished his intimate manner of self-expression, and adopted an ornamental convention, founded upon his appreciation of the Venetians, seems impossible. Rather, he realised instinctively that portraits and compositions destined for decorative purposes should be treated less in detail, and more from the aspect of pictorial effect.

[1] "The Crucifixion" is in the Prado; "Christ at the Column" was presented to the English nation by Lord Savile in 1883. Sir Walter Armstrong speaks of the picture as "a supremely great work," and deems it "the greatest of the painter's religious scenes." The picture was painted in 1639. The four equestrian portraits of Philip, his second wife, Margarita of Austria, Don Baltasar Carlos, and Olivarez are all in the Prado. In the same gallery are the hunting portraits, where we see the King, his brother, Don Fernando, and the little Prince Baltasar with dogs and arms, the emblems of the chase. The scene of the "Boar Hunt" is in the National Gallery. There is one rendering of "Don Baltasar in the Riding-school" in the collection of the Duke of Westminster at Grosvenor House, while a second is in the Wallace Collection. Probably both these pictures are studies for a larger composition that was never completed.

The portraits of Philip and his Queen, of Prince Baltasar Carlos, and of Olivarez were echoes of a Court that delighted in etiquette, grandeur, and ceremony. The incomparable "Surrender of Breda" was executed for the purpose of royal adornment. In fact, the greater number of these pictures were painted to beautify the Buen Retiro, the new summer palace of Philip IV.[1]

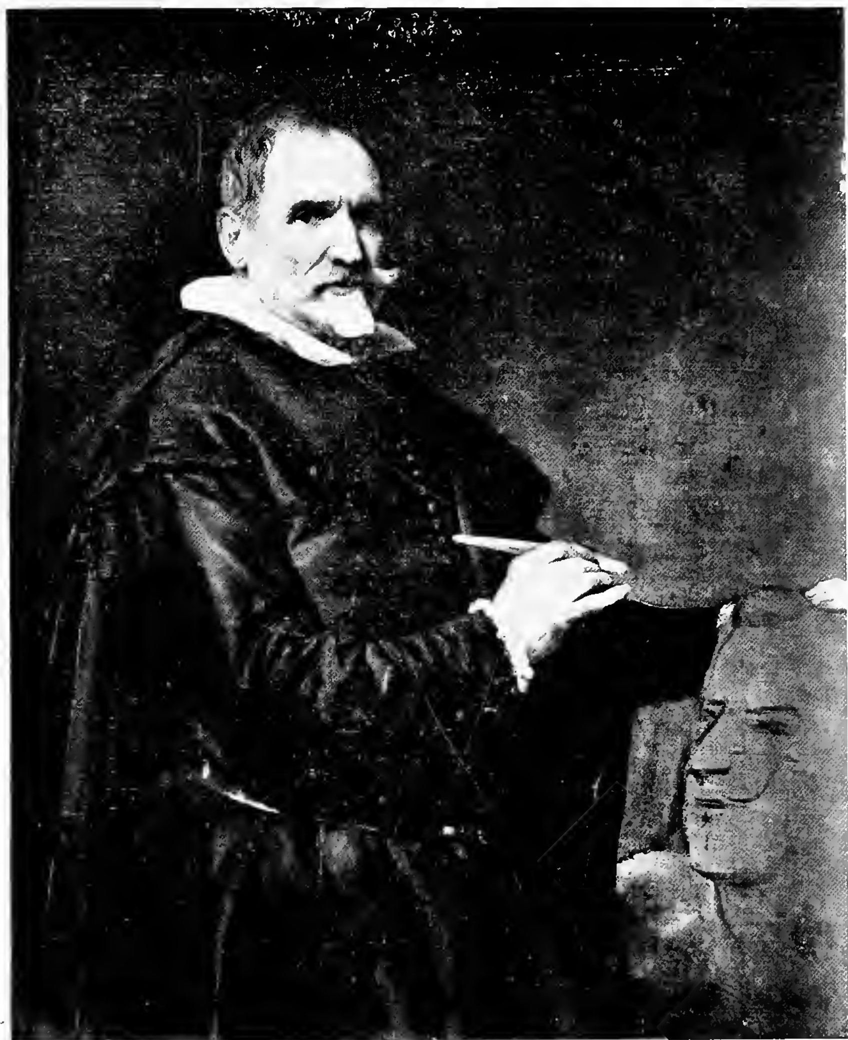
Velazquez at all times adapted the manner of his pictures to the end for which they were destined. That this is the true explanation of the change in the painter's style seems proved from the fact that the "Coronation of the Virgin,"[2] the most ornamental and most Italian of his pictures, was not painted until late in his life, when reality of impression governed his brush. On the other hand, he painted portraits during this epoch of royal pictures that cannot be classified as decorative work. In the study of "Admiral Pulido de Pareja,"[3] of the National Gallery, and in the magnificent presentment, in the Prado, of the Sevillian sculptor, Martinez Montañés, the likeness is directly treated.[4] It is impossible to conceive a finer portrait than the figure of Montañés, standing with his chisel in his right hand, while the other rests upon the marble block he is modelling. Throughout his life Velazquez

[1] The Palace was presented to the King by Olivarez, in 1633. The Minister desired to distract his royal master's attention from the Government.

[2] This picture was one of the last painted by Velazquez. It was executed as an altar-piece for the private oratory of Queen Mariana.

[3] Senor Berute thinks this portrait is probably by J. B. del Mazo (see p. 255). Palomino gives a detailed history of the picture, and it is almost universally accounted the genuine work of Velazquez.

[4] In the catalogue of the Prado the portrait of Montañés is assigned to the last style of Velazquez. Mr. Stevenson says: "It is the finest portrait of the second period," and this judgment is probably correct. Among other portraits that were painted about this time are the "Poet Francisco de Quivedo y Villegas" (Apsley House), "Cardinal Borgia, Bishop of Seville" (Frankfort), "Duke of Modena" (Gallery of Modena), and "Alonzo de Espinar, Valet-de-Chambre to Don Baltasar" (Prado).



THE SCULPTOR, MARTINEZ MONTAÑÉS.

BY VELAZQUEZ.

maintained the original vigour of his strong Spanish personality.

The year 1643 witnessed the disgrace of Olivarez. Philip gathered the bridle of government into his own hands, and went to quell a long-continued insurrection in Catalonia. Velazquez attended the King to the border town of Fraga, where he painted the portrait now treasured in the Dulwich Gallery.[1]

This study of Philip is the most highly coloured of the many presentments of the King. His rich doublet glows with red and silver. In England we are apt to underrate the brilliancy of tone found in the pictures of Velazquez. It is true that his finest effects are frequently rendered in plays of black and white. Yet Velazquez knew the value of vivid tints. Many of the pictures in the Prado glow with strong touches of living colour, subtle and luminous, like the hues of nature. We may name the full rich red and green in the cloak and doublet of the dwarf Sebastián de Morra, the exquisite silvery pink in the elaborate court-toilet of Maria Teresa, the bright pink sash in the equestrian Don Baltasar, the gay dress and feathered hat of Antonio el Inglés, the glowing tapestry in "The Weavers," the decorative pinks, blues, and purples in the "Coronation of the Virgin." These are a few instances, selected among many, that prove the Spanish painter was a supreme exponent of colour.

Velazquez was a master of many moods. Probably it was at this time[2] he first painted the wonderful series of

[1] It is not certain that the Dulwich picture is the original portrait painted at Fraga. Many critics think that this canvas, and a similar study in the Lyne-Stephens collection, are copies of the first portrait.

[2] Sir Walter Armstrong thinks the series of "dwarfs, buffoons, idiots, beggars, and labourers" were executed between the fall of Olivarez and the painter's second Italian journey. He founds this opinion on the fact that there were no royal portraits painted between

dwarfs and Court jesters, now collected in the Prado. There is a subtle fascination in these figures, a charm at once restrained, refined, and strong. The pulsating life in the faces, the simplicity of the postures, the modelling of the figures, the dexterous manipulation of the paint, the wonderful lighting—all impel the eye. His subject was of little import to Velazquez; the unique magic of his insight gave beauty to all he painted. The misshapen humanity is forgotten; his dwarfs and idiots are beautiful with the rare beauty of harmonious truth. No one who has once seen these studies can forget their wondrous power. Take as an instance the dwarf Sebastián de Morra—a tiny, wretched figure with distorted limbs. No effort is made to conceal the malformation; nay, Velazquez so poses the dwarf that the defects appear specially manifest. Yet, who reckons these deformities when gazing upon the canvas? They are lost in the searching power of the face, in the magnetism of the seeing eyes, and in the charmed mingling of the glowing tones. No work of Velazquez is more national than these pictures. Perhaps

1644 and 1649. Velazquez remained faithful to the fallen Olivarez, and Sir Walter Armstrong thinks this fact may have caused a slight coldness in the attitude of the Court that would account for the change in the character of his sitters. This explanation seems probable; but an examination of the style of the pictures shows that some were painted at a later date. The "Dwarf," "Antonio el Inglés," the "Juggler," "Don Juan of Austria," and "Barbarroja personating a Moorish Corsair," certainly belong to the last manner of Velazquez. The "Dwarf, Sebastián de Morra," the "Buffoon, Pabillos de Valladolid," the "Child of Vallecas," "El Bobo de Coria" the idiot, and the dwarf known as "El Primo," are all assigned to the painter's second period in the catalogue of the Prado, and may have been painted before the second Italian journey. Mr. Stevenson and Professor Justi think the figure of "El Primo" and of the idiot "El Bobo" belong to a later date. The two portraits of a "Lady with a Mantilla" at Devonshire House and in the Wallace Collection, probably belong to this late second period.

none of his canvases unite him as intimately with the dramatic truth, the passion, the strength, and the virility of Spain.

In January 1649, Velazquez again visited Italy. The object of the journey was to purchase pictures and statues for the Alcázar, which had recently been re-built. "I will bring you back paintings by Titian, Paolo Veronese, Bassano, Raphael, Parmigianino, and the like," was the promise of Velazquez, when Philip sanctioned his departure. The painter left Madrid in November 1648, but he did not embark from Malaga until June 2nd, 1649. He went first to Venice, thence he passed through Rome to Naples, where he renewed his intercourse with Ribera, who was sorrowing for his daughter, the lovely Maria Rose.[1] In Naples Velazquez bought many examples of Greek sculpture; he then returned to Rome, where he stayed for the remainder of his visit.

Two portraits were completed during the painter's sojourn in the Italian city. A study of his Moorish slave, Juan de Pareja,[2] was executed, it is said, to prepare his hand for the wondrous rendering of the reigning Pontiff, Innocent X., a man known throughout Europe for the ugliness of his features.

The former portrait was exhibited in the cloister of the Pantheon on the feast of St. Joseph. "It met with such universal approbation that, in the unanimous opinion of the painters of various nationalities, all else seemed painting, this alone truth."[3] Velazquez was at once elected a member of the Academy of St. Luke. Two preliminary studies were then made,[4] after which he painted

[1] See p. 194.

[2] This portrait is now in the collection of the Earl of Carlisle. The picture was shown at the Guildhall Exhibition in 1901.

[3] From the writings of Andreas Schmidt.

[4] Of these studies, one belongs to the Duke of Westminster, while the other is in the Hermitage Gallery at St. Petersburg. An admirable

his likeness of the Pope. It is a study of unclouded crimson. The chair, the cap, the robe, the curtain, every accessory is red. And this colour-scheme, of justified audacity, was chosen for a sitter whose face was flaming scarlet! In very truth the picture is a master achievement of daring triumph.

"Troppo verro," was the comment of Innocent when he saw the work. Then the Pontiff forthwith sent his chamberlain with a gold medal and chain to decorate the painter.

"My master, the King of Spain, always pays me with his own hand," was the proud rejoinder of Velazquez, and he refused to receive the gift until Innocent placed it upon his neck.

Philip summoned Velazquez back to Madrid, in 1651, to paint the portrait of his new girl-wife, Doña Mariana of Austria.[1] It is characteristic of the *Pintor del Cámara* of Spain that this command was at once obeyed. Velazquez had the Spanish ideal of royalty. To him Philip was *su majested,* a master, linked by his kingly office with all that was divine.

Velazquez was received by the King with great affection. An interesting note of the painter's gradual rise in the royal favour may be gathered from the places assigned to the members of the Court at the *corridas* in the Plaza Mayor. In 1640 we find Velazquez in the fourth balcony, with the secretaries of the Court officials; while six years later, in 1646, he is seated in the third-floor tier

colour reproduction from the former work is given in the first number of *The Ideal,* a quarterly publication of the works of celebrated painters. The original portrait is still in Rome, in Doria Pamfili Palace.

[1] Doña Mariana of Austria was Philip's niece. Formerly she had been betrothed to Don Baltasar Carlos. She was only fourteen. By her Philip had four children, Don Philip Prospero and Don Fernando, both of whom died young, the lovely Infanta Doña Margarita Maria, and Carlos II., who succeeded to the throne.

among the greatest of the government dignitaries. In a news-letter, written at Madrid in 1636, we read, "Diego Velazquez has been appointed Wardrobe-assistant; his ambition is one day to be Gentleman of the Chamber." In addition, Velazquez was the Minister of Fine Arts, whose duty was ordering the decoration of the King's palaces. In February 1652, he applied for the post of Aposentador Mayor, a position of regal honour, but one that entailed much arduous work.[1]

For eight more years Velazquez painted, and it was during this period, when overburdened by the duties of the Court, that his greatest inspirations were completed. The key-note to these pictures is strict visual truth. At this time the painter ceased to be an old master, and became the herald of a new message in art. Through detailed realism, and through decorative realism, the painter had passed to the actual reality of vision. Velazquez now painted all scenes, not as he knew they were, but as they appeared to him. His studies became pictures of air and light. They showed what the eye had always mirrored, but what no one as yet had painted. Because this was a fresh revelation in the realm of art, these pictures are very simple, very natural, and very wonderful.

The portraits of this late period are united, by the sense of atmospheric unity conveyed in the rare treatment of the background. Yet apart from this, the variety in the handling of these studies is wondrous. Each one is a

[1] It was the duty of the Aposentador Mayor, or Palace Marshal, to arrange the royal journeys, the Court festivities, and the tournaments. In addition, he was responsible for the furnishing and heating of the palaces, and he had to assign rooms to the ladies and gentlemen of the Court. The reward for these duties was a pass-key which opened every room in the palaces, the honour of attending upon the king during his meals, and a salary of three thousand ducats a year.

master-creation; each presentment is individualised to exactly portray the model. Velazquez had no one style, and no rigid formula ever governed his expression. His modelling, his lighting, his brush-work were always diversified, and his art was so perfect that no method can be discerned. Every fresh picture was a personal creation, and for each a special manner was adopted.

The first work Velazquez executed after his return was a group of portraits of the new Queen. Mariana's peevish countenance and distorting costume, in the extreme of hideous fashion, imparted little inspiration to the painter. The likenesses are full realisations of the wayward, silly, and enfeebled girl. There are three portraits of Queen Mariana in the Prado. The first two are almost alike. The Queen, arrayed in a gorgeously-decorated dress of black silk, stands with her right hand upon the back of a chair, while the left, which holds a handkerchief of cambric and white lace, falls by her side. The only difference in the pictures is an alteration in the arrangement of the curtain. The third presentment is a picture of Mariana in prayer. It was painted for the Monastery of the Escorial, with a companion study of Philip.

Some time during these years Velazquez created his studies of Mœnippus and Æsop, and completed the series of dwarfs and Court jesters. The marvellous diversity in these personations renders it impossible to particularise their power. Æsop and Mœnippus may be classified together. The two figures stand in tall canvases, with the background narrowed to little more than a margin. In Æsop the modelling is rough, and the whole canvas has a flavour of ruggedness. The handling of Mœnippus is freer, and the colour is laid on in soft washes. Wondrous masses of luminous colour shine in his many-folded Spanish cloak of black stuff. The buffoon, Don Juan of Austria, is dressed to personate "the hero of

DOÑA MARIANA OF AUSTRIA.

(*Second Wife of Felipe IV.*)

BY VELAZQUEZ.

Lepanto." The black velvet of his doublet is relieved with deftly introduced touches of pink and crimson stuffs. Gayer is the picture of the dwarf, called Antonio *el Inglés*. His ornamented dress and feathered hat are painted with vivacity of colour. A large mastiff stands by the dwarf's side. It is a life-like dog image, one of the many studies that reveal the inimitable power of Velazquez in animal portraiture.

No painter has left truer studies of child-life than Velazquez. The portraits of the gay, brave Don Baltazar Carlos were the glory of his second period. Now, Velazquez had a new model, and again he gave life to a royal child of Spain, the sweet Infanta, Doña Margarita Maria. The little princess forms the central interest in the incomparable court-scene of "Las Meniñas." Two exquisite likenesses of the child, one a full-length and the other a three-quarter study, are the notable Spanish treasures of the Louvre and the Munich Gallery, while the wonderful portrait of the Prado, catalogued as the likeness of Maria Teresa, is thought by many to be a presentment of this winsome child. This picture is the brightest of all the painter's portraits. A glowing, glittering symphony of pink and silver, the figure stands luminous against a background of atmospheric space. It is a portrait of subtle and sparkling gladness.

Perhaps Velazquez most perfectly reached his goal of supreme naturalness in the studies of the head and bust of Philip, that were painted during these final years. The personality of these simple presentments is almost bewildering. Here the treatment is very intimate, and an extreme accuracy directs the painter's handling. The head of Philip is shown against simple gloom; there are no accessories, nothing except the wonderful living face. It is not easy to realise at once the marvel of these miracles of characterisation. We gaze and gaze,

until at last we learn all that Velazquez knew about the face of Philip.[1]

In 1655 "Las Meniñas" was conceived,[2] and a few years later Velazquez painted "Las Hiladeras," the master-creations of his life. The actuality of the later portraits are here gathered in two scenes, transcripts of veritable vision. They are not pictures, they are vistas of real life. No words can describe them, and no engraving or photograph can depict the rarity of their ineffable charm.

In "Las Meniñas"[3] we gaze upon a magic tableau from the Court-life of Spain. Velazquez is painting a portrait of the King and Queen, whose figures are reflected in a mirror at the far end of the state chamber. During an interval of rest the little Princess Doña Margarita has entered with her dog, her attendant dwarf, and two serving-maids, the *las meniñas*, who have given their name to the work. Velazquez has painted the picture for the spectator to view the scene as it appeared to the royal parents. We gaze with them through the luminous twilight of the deep-spaced room to the sunlight flooded space, where this child

[1] One of these heads is in the Prado, the other is the "Philip old," in the National Gallery. There are in England only two works of the painter's last years—this canvas and the wonderful "Venus," the property of the late R. H. Morritt, Esq., of Rokeby Park. Portraits of Philip in later life are in the gallery of Vienna, in the Louvre, and the Hermitage Gallery. Possibly the one at Vienna is the work of Velazquez; the others are probably copies by Carreño or another pupil.

[2] In Spain the picture is also called "La Familia." The original sketch for "Las Meniñas" is in England, the property of Ralph Banks, Esq., Kingston Lacy, Wimborne.

[3] The "Las Meniñas" is now hung in a small ante-chamber, leading from the Salon de la Reina Isabel, the apartment in the Prado where all the pictures of Velazquez are collected. One passes through the portal, and the effect produced by the picture is of a second room, into which one gazes. The canvas has no appearance of a picture, it is a living scene.

Las Meniñas.

By Velazquez.

drama was acted. The illusion is absolute. The scene lives for ever, a rare mystery of paint.

In "Las Hiladeras," or "The Spinners," the scene is different. Here Velazquez shows the effect of sunlight in a closed room—through gloom we gaze into relucent light. Two rooms are painted; in the farther apartment, illumined with soft sunlight, a company of señoras are examining the tapestry that has been wrought by the women, who sit spinning in the shaded work-room. Beams of light from the sun-lit chamber throw dazzling reflections, that mingle with the dimness of the outer scene. The rays shed lustre upon the weavers, and so vital and true is the scene that the figures apparently pulsate with motion. Velazquez has realised a supreme moment, and imprisoned it upon the canvas.

The last pictures painted by Velazquez were "The Coronation of the Virgin" and a quaint and simple figure-landscape, illustrating the legend of St. Anthony visiting St. Paul. Velazquez was the one Spanish painter who perfectly interpreted landscape. The backgrounds of his equestrian and hunting pieces are veritable transcripts of Castilian scenery. His Roman sketches in the Villa Medici and the vistas of Aranjuez are scenes of actual nature. They are portraits of living landscape.

Throughout these years Velazquez was the high servant of the King. A papal decree had been granted, in 1659,

[1] In a letter written during his visit to Spain, Wilkie says: "Velazquez is the only painter who seems to have made an attempt at landscape. I have seen some of his most original and daring." Again he writes, in a letter to Sir John Collier: "Much as I might learn from Spain, and from her arts, you, as a landscape-painter, could learn but little, excepting only from some works of Velazquez, who, in landscape, is a brilliant exception to the Spanish school. Of him, I saw a large landscape at Madrid that for breadth and richness of colour I have seldom seen equalled. It was too abstract for detail, but it had the very same sun we see and the air we breathe—the very soul and spirit of nature."

confirming him a Knight of the Order of Santiago, an honour reported to have been first granted by Philip, when he gazed in admiration upon the creation of "Las Meniñas." In 1660 a marriage alliance was arranged between the Infanta Maria Teresa and Louis XIV., the young French king. The royal companies met upon the Isle of Pheasants, in the Rio Bidasoa, the boundary between France and Spain. It was the charge of Velazquez, as the *Aposentador del Rey*, to provide for the transit of the Court from Madrid to San Sebastián. The duties of the painter were manifold and heavy. An estimate of the magnitude of the company may be gathered from the fact that one noble, Don Luis de Haro, brought two hundred retainers. The conference was organised with the full ceremony of Spanish state. Furniture, pictures, tapestry were sent from Madrid to decorate the temporarily erected buildings, and nearly four thousand pack mules were required to carry these costly trappings. The burden of organisation rested with Velazquez. Palomino comments upon "his loyal affection," and "the courtly refinement and splendour" of his costume. "He appeared," writes the Spaniard, "more to advantage than others, for he naturally excelled in all matters of taste." In the same record we read that after the pageant Velazquez "was worn out with travelling by night and working by day." This entry was written on July 6th. Soon afterwards the painter's overstrained body succumbed to an attack of ague, and before a month had passed, the final and greatest tribute yielded by Spanish art to the national adoration of kingship had been paid. Velazquez was dead.

Palomino thus chronicles the fact:—"On Friday, August 6, in the year 1660, on the Feast of the Lord's Transfiguration, after receiving the last sacrament and giving full testatory powers to his trusted friend, Don Gaspar de Fuensalida, in the sixty-first year of his life, about two o'clock in the afternoon, he resigned his soul

La Coronación de la Virgen.

(*The Coronation of the Virgin.*)

BY VELAZQUEZ.

to Him who had created it for such a wonder of the world."

Velazquez founded no school in the true meaning of the term. His art was too intimate and his new truth was too subtle for his age. The painters who followed him imitated his manner, but they were incapable of fathoming his inspiration. They tried to reproduce his vision rather than to see anew for themselves. The grandeur of Velazquez was his magnificent personality. His pictures are full of the breadth of humanity, and for this reason their influence is universal and detached from any limitations of epoch or country. Velazquez[1] is still a guiding magnet of the art of to-day. Spain, the country whose art was largely borrowed, had produced Velazquez, and through him Spanish art became the light of a new artistic life.

[1] Wilkie, writing upon this subject to Philips, says: "Velazquez may be said to be the origin of what is now being done in England. His work seems to anticipate Reynolds, Romney, Raeburn, Jackson, and even Sir Thomas Lawrence. Perhaps there is this difference, he does at once what we do by repeated and repeated touches." Mr. R. A. M. Stevenson, writing in 1898, remarks: "To see the Prado is to modify one's opinion of the novelty of recent art. . . . In the natural growth of ideas the seed of thought has been blown from Spain."

CHAPTER XV.

THE DECLINE OF SPANISH ART—THE IMMEDIATE SURVIVORS AND SUCCESSORS OF VELAZQUEZ AND MURILLO, AND THE REIGN OF THE BOURBONS—LATE SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES.

In the work of the four great naturalists, Spanish painting attained its culminating crown of achievement. Zurbarán, the stern realist of the national asceticism; Murillo, the urbane interpreter of the Catholic artistic ideal; Ribera, the passionate painter who harmonised the naturalistic impulses of Italy and Spain; and lastly, Diego Velazquez, the supreme master, perfect alike in the realism of detail and in the realism of sight;—these workers had accomplished so much that nothing remained for their successors except imitation. The great national impulse for truth and reality that had animated the artistic life of the seventeenth century had spent its force. The final word had been disclosed, and until a fresh inspiration arose, individual expression was impossible to the Spanish painters. They were caught in the ebb-tide of what their great predecessors had achieved, and in striving to attain to their standards they lost their power of personal execution.

In Castile the paintings of Velazquez founded a tradition that called into existence a band of excellent workers; but they were followers of Velazquez, not original craftsmen. The work of Velazquez was so perfect, both in inspiration and technique; he carried every *motif* to such complete fulfilment, that his disciples had nothing left to solve for themselves. None of his contemporaries

grasped the new message in his art. They followed his dexterous handling, they repeated his brush-work, his modelling, and his colour, until the copy of the pupil was often confused with the creation of the master. But no painter of his own century realised the true import of his teaching, that each hand must paint the actual vision mirrored in the individual eye. Thus the group of clever Castilian painters did nothing to arrest the decay of the artistic life. They copied and painted successfully until they died; meanwhile, they trained other painters, who continued to work in their methods, until imitation slowly sank into degradation.

Two painters intimately associated with Velazquez were his son-in-law, Juan Bautista Martínez del Mazo, and his slave, Juan de Pareja. Both worked in the studio of their master, Juan del Mazo as the acknowledged disciple, while Pareja, the black studio-drudge, painted alone, during intervals snatched from his duties of mixing and pounding the colours used by Velazquez and his assistants. The story of Pareja is familiar to all who know Velazquez. He spent his whole life with his master,[1] and for twenty-eight years he painted in secret. At length the King discovered his talent. A finished painting he had executed was by chance left in the studio. Philip saw the canvas, praised the work, and asked who had painted the picture. Pareja knelt at his feet and told his story.

"A painter like you should not remain a slave," was the comment of the kingly critic. The Morisco serf was given his freedom, and he became the pupil of Velazquez.

Palomino tells us that his portraits were often mistaken

[1] Pareja was born at Seville, in 1606. He entered the service of Velazquez in 1623, immediately before the painter went to Madrid. He was the constant attendant of Velazquez. Twice he went with him to Italy. It was during the second journey that Velazquez painted his portrait (see p. 243). Pareja gained his freedom in 1651. He died at Madrid in 1670.

for those of his master. This remark is the common compliment, rendered by the Spanish historian, to the successors of Velazquez. We have already commented upon its truth, and its result of artistic decadence. But, in the one composition[1] by Pareja that remains at Madrid, there are signs that the slave-painter had some power of individual expression. The subject of the picture is the calling of the Apostle Matthew.[2] Groups of figures are gathered about a table, around which a company of money-changers are seated. Their faces have personality and strength, and the grouping has decided merit. The weakest feature of the picture is the form of the Saviour which is conventional and unconvincing. His attitude is theatrical, and his countenance has none of the personality that ennobles the other figures. All the details of the picture are painted with Spanish carefulness. The rich tapestried table, the inkhorn and pen, the money and jewels scattered upon the table, the carefully-planned dresses, the draped curtains, the vases of wrought metal, the landscape vista visible through the open shutter, the picture hanging upon the wall,—all the numerous accessories have a suggestion of the old Gothic spirit.[3] The influence of Velazquez is very visible in the drawing of the figures, while the scheme of colour is based upon his ideals; but the painting is more than an imitation

[1] Carl Justi speaks of a "Baptism of Christ," by Pareja, as formerly being in the old National Museum. The professor says the canvas was banished to Huesca. Sir W. Stirling-Maxwell mentions a picture by Pareja in the Hermitage, at St. Petersburg,—a monk in a dark robe, with a book in his hand.

[2] This picture was brought to the Prado from the collection of Doña Isabel Farnesio. It was originally in the Church of San Ildefonso.

[3] In many ways this study reminded me of the "Last Supper," by Céspedes, in the Cathedral of Córdova. Carl Justi, writing of the picture, says, "The man who could produce so admirable a work as this, must have painted many others that have disappeared.'

of Velazquez, and we are grateful for all personality in this period of non-initiative work.

Juan Bautista del Mazo[1] spent his life painting in the studio of Velazquez. He was a diligent copyist, and devoted ardent labour studying the works of Velazquez, Tintoretto, Titian, and Paolo Veronese. What the young Bautista missed was the natural training of working for himself. In his portraits he was a dexterous reproducer of the methods of Velazquez, and his skill may be estimated from the fact that the portrait of Admiral Pulido-Pareja, in the National Gallery, has been ascribed to his brush.[2] Many canvases attributed to Velazquez were, in all probability, executed by his son-in-law. There is little doubt that he painted the group of the Velazquez family,[3] now in the Belvedere Gallery at Vienna. Every portrait by Mazo, in the Prado and elsewhere,[4] is indelibly stamped as a second-hand Velazquez. This duplication of his master's manner is specially visible in the presentments of Queen Mariana.[5] Probably the best likeness Mazo executed is the study of Don Tiburcio de Redin y Cruzat, the master of the Spanish infantry.

[1] The year of Bautista's birth is not known. He entered the studio of Velazquez when he was still young. In 1634 he married his master's daughter. He succeeded Velazquez as painter to Philip, and died at Madrid in 1667.

[2] See p. 240. Señor A. de Beruete, in his work on Velazquez, thinks many pictures, commonly assigned to Velazquez, are the work of Del Mazo.

[3] Certain defects in the drawing of this family group seem to render certain the fact that it was not painted by Velazquez. Carl Justi and Curtis both ascribe the work to Mazo.

[4] There is a small portrait of a man, by Mazo, in the National Gallery.

[5] The first portrait of Queen Mariana was painted by Mazo while Velazquez was in Italy. The picture is much lauded by the Spanish writers, but the canvas has disappeared.

Mazo's work was not limited to portraiture, and in his landscape studies he reveals more independent talent. His scenic views, his seascapes, and his scenes with mythological figures, are all collected in the Royal Gallery. A panoramic view of the city of Zaragoza[1] is the most important. In this landscape vista the handling is masterly, while the tones are warm and brilliant. The life-like rendering of the figure-groups in the foreground is supposed to reveal the touch of Velazquez. All Mazo's landscapes are lifted above the commonplace by a certain grandeur in the conception. A study of a torrent and a mass of rocks, irradiated by flashes of lightning, is a fine scene. In all these pictures some personal accent may be traced. The painter is less of a copyist, and more true to his own vision.

It is with relief we note two painters, in this period of imitation, whose pictures breathe a more robust and original expression. Fray Juan Rizi and Antonio Pereda clung to the tradition of realistic truth that had animated the great painters of the century. The Spanish spirit of deep religious asceticism burned in them both. They were the last painters of Spain whose art was inspired by the monkish ideal.

Fray Juan Rizi, "the Castilian Zurbarán," was born in Madrid in 1595. He belonged to a family of painters, and his father, Antonio Rizi, was one of the band of decorators who came with Zuccaro to work at the Escorial. The boy Juan was trained in the studio of the Toledean painter, Juan Bautista Mayno, where he early established a talent for true and accurate workmanship. A strong religious passion mingled with the young painter's realism, and in 1626 he entered the

[1] This picture was painted to commemorate Don Baltazar Carlos receiving the homage of Aragon and Navarre, in 1646, the same year in which the young prince died.

[2] Carl Justi.

VISTA DE LA CIUDAD DE ZARAGOZA.

(View of Zaragoza.)

BY JUAN BAUTISTA DEL MAZO.

monastery of St. Benedict, at Montserrate. He was very poor, and a picture of the Crucifixion had to be painted before he could gain a hundred ducats, an amount required by the monks of his order. Fray Rizi spent his life painting for the convents and monasteries of Spain. Before he died the painter visited Italy. He returned to Madrid to the Convent of San Martin, where he painted a series of pictures before his death, in 1675.

Such is the brief life-record of the painter-monk. One of his pictures is in the Prado at Madrid—"St. Francis branded with the Stigmata, or Five Wounds of Christ." The picture reveals the control and strength of the painter. It is a simple and dignified scene, conceived with the true restraint of natural power. Throughout the colour is good, and the handling dexterous;[1] indeed, the study of "San Francis" is one of the finest pictures painted by the lesser masters of Spain.

Antonio Pereda[2] was born at Valladolid in 1599. At the youthful age of seven he was sent to Madrid, where he worked with Pedro de las Cuevas, a painter, who trained many Castilian artists of the century.[3] The child-painter was adopted by the Court architect, Don Crescenzi, who at once obtained a permit for him to copy in the royal galleries. From the pictures of the great masters Pereda gained his training. He acquired an intense passion for colour, and great facility in depicting still-life. In this direction of his art Pereda was supreme, but he never attained personal greatness in his

[1] Sir W. Stirling-Maxwell states that Rizi's pictures want finish. In the study at Madrid there is no sign of this defect. The picture has not the softness of Murillo's handling, but it is strongly and carefully painted.

[2] The catalogue of the Museo del Prado gives Perera as an alternative for his name.

[3] Palomino states that Pereda never learned either to read or to write, but Cean Bermudez contradicts the statement.

conceptions. His figures are wanting in simplicity, and many of his attitudes are theatrical. Still his work is always strong and careful. It is very Spanish, while the glow of his colour-schemes invests his painting with a distinctive charm.

His first picture of the "Immaculate Conception" was painted when he was only eighteen. The work secured the notice of the Court. Pereda was at once commissioned to paint in the Buen Retiro, and he remained the *Pintor del Rey* until his death in 1669.

Pereda's two pictures in the Royal Gallery signalise his power and his limitation. "San Jerónimo meditating upon the Final Judgment" is the stronger study. The saint, seated in his cave, is aroused from his prayers by the sound of the last trump. It is a scene of dramatic realism, in which the still-life appendages of book, and cross, and skull, and pen are painted with consummate power. The colour is very fine, but a want of simplicity ruins the thought of the picture, and the composition misses the mark of greatness. In spite of the careful painting, the warm tones, and the excellent drawing, the figure leaves us unmoved. The truth of the workmanship is ruined by the spectacular attitude of the saint, whose air of startled expectancy is unconvincing and self-conscious.

The "Ecce Homo" has neither the merit nor the imperfection of the "San Jerónimo" study. The figures are simpler and more real, but the execution is less strong. Here the power of the picture arises from the depth of its glowing colour.[1]

With the death of Fray Juan Rizi and Antonio

[1] In the Real Académia de Bellas Artes there is a picture by Pereda, called "The Dream of the Connoisseur." It is very theatrical, and inferior to his pictures in the Prado. A youth, gorgeously attired, sleeps by a table, whereon rest the emblems of earthly riches. The picture, in many ways, resembles the compositions by Valdés Leal in La Caridad, at Seville (see p. 142).

Pereda, we close one chapter in the annals of Spanish art. They are the last painters who echo the ideal, ingrafted by the Inquisition. Their pictures were the after-growth of an inspiration that was spent. The Catholic motive of passionate asceticism was no longer potent in Castile; and for this reason, their effort of religious naturalism was of little weight, and their paintings had no effect upon the facile workers who flooded Castile with inferior pictures.

In 1665, five years after the death of Velazquez, Philip IV. died from an unexpected attack of fever. His surviving son, Charles II., was yet a child, the degenerate offspring of a worn-out royalty. For five years the country was misruled by the uncultured and foolish Mariana of Austria, and each year the decadence of the Court became more evident. The young King "loved pictures more than anything except his dog,"[1] but his constitutional inaptness gave him little power. Yet, the artistic degradation was not immediate, and four painters of merit still worked for the royal household and for the churches of Castile. Juan Carreño de Miranda, his pupil Mateo Cerezo, Claudio Coello, the final portrait-painter of the Austrian monarchs, and Sebastián Muñoz maintained the tradition of the Madrid school until the waning years of the century.

Carreño de Miranda was born at Avilés,[2] in 1614. He came to Madrid in order to study with Pedro de las Cuevas, and while still young, painted many religious pictures[3] for the churches of Madrid, Toledo, and Pam-

[1] Sir W. Stirling-Maxwell, in *The Annals of the Artists of Spain.*

[2] A small town in Asturias.

[3] These pictures are highly praised by Palomino. In the Royal Gallery is a well-painted "San Sebastián," by Carreño, from the Convent of Vallecas, a former religious house at Madrid. A study of "Santa Ana giving a Lesson to the Virgin" is tentatively attributed to Carreño. If it is his, the work is inferior to the "San Sebastián."

peluna. Through the influence of Velazquez, he was commissioned to decorate the mirrors of Alcázar, and when the Court-painter died in 1660, he was selected the *Pintor de Cámara* to the Court.

Carreño's ambition in portraiture was to attain the manner of Velazquez, and his royal likenesses are dull reproductions of that master's work. His pictures have a certain merit, and the studies of Charles II.[1] and Queen Mariana are powerful and truthful likenesses; but his visible imitation of Velazquez challenges the great painter's living, breathing portraits to rise in the mind's vision and condemn his inferior work. There is one study of a fat, gigantic child. The painting is good, but how differently Velazquez would have interpreted such a figure! No inspiration redeems the ugliness and the deformity of the model. The child remains a hideous monstrosity.

The strongest of Carreño's portraits is a presentment of Pedro Iwanowitz Potemkin, the Ambassador of the Czar of Moscow—a full-length figure in a robe of glowing red, covered by a mantle of brocade. A likeness of Francisco Bazán, the Court buffoon of Charles II., is a good study. Here again we are reminded of Velazquez. If we had never seen the pictures of Velazquez, Carreño would appear a great portrait-painter; as it is, he is a good imitator.

It is not necessary to linger over the religious compositions of Mateo Cerezo and Sebastián Muñoz. Both painters were skilful workers, but neither exercised a deterrent influence upon the growing tendency to depart from the tradition of realism. The pictures of Cerezo are distinctive for their flood of warm and glowing colour. At the same time his scriptural scenes are often com-

[1] Sir W. Stirling-Maxwell mentions two portraits of Charles II. in the Royal Gallery. At present there is only one. There is a portrait of Don Carlos, by Carreño, at Hampton Court.

Portrait of Carlos II.

by Juan Carreño de Miranda.

monplace, from the poverty of the painter's conception. Cerezo was born at Burgos, and was trained by the Court artist, Carreño. He died at Madrid in 1675. His pictures were painted for the churches and convents of Valladolid, Burgos, and Palencia. The finest conception is the "Risen Christ appearing to the Disciples at Emmaus."[1] In this work the figures are strongly drawn, and the scene is true and vivid. Two examples of the painter's work are in the Prado Gallery—"An Ascension" and "A Marriage of St. Catherine of Alexándria." In many ways the pictures recall the conceptions of Murillo. The colour is good, but both pieces suffer from the conventionality of the rendering.

Sebastián Muñoz was born at Segovia in 1654, and he died in the Castilian capital in 1690. He studied with Claudio Coello,[2] and afterwards under Carlo Maratti in Rome. Muñoz was a painter of greater erudition than the majority of his contemporaries. His understanding of chiaroscuro was good, and his work can often be recognised by his fine contrasts of light and shade. Unfortunately, he acquired the faults of his Italian master, and many of his pictures exhibit the same weak striving after an ideal form.

The Prado has three pictures by Muñoz—"San Augustín exorcising the Plague of Locusts," "The

[1] This picture was painted for the Recolete Convent at Madrid The work has been etched by Juan de Castillo, and a good reproduction is given in Sir W. Stirling-Maxwell's *Annals of the Artists of Spain*. Palomino praises this work extravagantly. He writes: "Its merits exceed all human power of ponderation." Sir W. Stirling-Maxwell mentions a third picture by Cerezo in the Prado—a "St. Jerome meditating." This work is not in the Gallery now. A picture of "The Magdalene," in the Cathedral of Badajoz, wrongly ascribed to Van Dyck, is the work of Cerezo.

[2] I have placed Muñoz before his master, Coello, because the latter painter was the last great artist of Spain.

Entombment of the Conde de Orgaz," and a fine portrait of himself. This last canvas is the painter's best work. It is more natural and has more strength than his religious scenes.

Claudio Coello was the last Court portrait-painter of the Hapsburg kings; he was also the final native worker whose pictures reflect the realistic impulse of the seventeenth century.

The painter was born at Madrid, some time between the years 1630 and 1640. His father was a Portuguese sculptor in bronze, and from him Claudio learned the value of form. Somewhat later the boy was sent to the studio of the realist Rizi, where he worked early and late to attain dexterity in workmanship.

Painstaking labour was the basis of Coello's art. His pictures have not the inspiration of genius, but they are always careful, truthful, and strong. He was seven years painting his master-scene of the "Santa Forma."[1] The scene was drawn in perspective, and we view the entire sacristy, with its decorated ceiling, rows of lighted candles, and realistic groups of kneeling figures. It is a picture of gorgeous ritual, a transcript from the life of Catholic Spain. A service is being solemnised in the Sacristía of the Escorial, and the holy relic, known as the Santa Forma, is being deposited in its sacred resting-place. All the heads are portraits. Each figure is a life-like

[1] We gain this information from Palomino. The picture of the "Santa Forma" still hangs in the Sacristía of the Escorial. The Santa Forma was the Host, supposed to have been trampled upon by certain Zwinglian soldiers, in 1525, at Gorkham, in Holland. The relic was sent to Philip IV., by the Emperor Rudolph II. It was placed with great ceremony in the Sacristía of the Escorial. Coello's picture portrays the scene. His canvas was painted to be placed before the casket guarding the treasure. Rizi was first commissioned to paint the picture, but he died before the work was executed. Coello did not use his designs. The King permitted him to conceive the scene from his own ideal.

La Santa Forma.

BY CLAUDIO COELLO.

presentment, in a scene of decorative reality.[1] The picture has not the atmospheric subtlety that gives living actuality to the visual scenes of Velazquez; but as a work of pictorial realisation it has high merit. The handling is extremely careful, and all the minutiæ of the details are treated in the Gothic spirit. Throughout the colour is good, while the difficult reflections from the candles are transfused with consummate skill.

The scene of the "Santa Forma" was the last great picture painted by an old master of Spain. It was the final utterance of the seventeenth century. Coello painted many pictures, but none have the distinction of his ecclesiastical presentment. All his pictures in the Royal Gallery[2] are well painted. His royal portrait has individuality and truth, while his scriptural studies are rendered with reserve and quiet power. Every canvas reveals sincere and careful workmanship. Indeed, a certain dignity stamps both the work and the character of this final painter, toiling in a decaying court during a period of artistic decline.

For some years Coello retained a position of power in the Court of Charles II. In 1691 he was elected by the Chapter of Toledo as painter to the Cathedral. Yet the wayward caprice of the enfeebled monarch soon strayed to a fresh favourite. Luca Giordano, the imitator of Ribera, came from Naples, in 1692, and settled at the

[1] The key to most of the portraits has been lost. The figure kneeling upon the right, clad in magnificent robes of state, is Charles II. Among the group behind him are the Dukes of Medinaceli and Pastrana. The Prior, who bears the custodia, and stands among the central group, is supposed to be the historian Santos. A figure in the corner, upon the extreme left, is a likeness of the painter.

[2] There are six pictures by Coello in the Prado—three studies of the saints, one royal portrait, and two renderings of the Virgin with her Child.

Castilian Court. Coello was neglected, and his position as leader of the royal painters was ended. In the same year an order was issued for the decoration of certain walls and domes at the Escorial. The work was entrusted to the facile brush of Giordano. Coello completed one picture[1] he had undertaken to paint for the monks of the Convent at Salamanca, then he died, it is said, heart-broken at his last years of failure.

The ascendency of Luca Giordano was the final death-stroke to the realistic impulse that had inspired the old Spanish school. No painter could have exerted an influence that was more disastrous. His ease of manner fascinated his followers, and the facility of his execution increased the evil of his sway. Giordano was one of a group of Italians whose apparent ideal was to fill large spaces with the least expense of labour. He had acquired a trick of Ribera's dashing execution, and was able to reproduce something of that master's power in rendering light and shade. The rapidity of his brush gained him the sobriquet of *Luca fa presto.* Soon his flashing, untruthful manner became the standard of the Castilian school.

We have traced the slow weakening of the truthful purpose of the seventeenth century. Even before the advent of Giordano, a band of painters had been working in Castile whose ideal was ease of execution, rather than sincerity of conception. These workers echoed the spirit that directed the life of Madrid. Their chief labour was to decorate the Buen Retiro, still the play palace of the Court. For such an aim their painting was appropriate, but the slovenly dexterity of their art was fatal to all development.

At the head of these painters worked Francisco Rizi,

[1] It is said that he only consented to finish the work upon the earnest pleading of the Father of the monastery.

brother to the truthful Fray Juan.[1] Rizi's sketchy pictures, with their tricks of brilliant colouring, had more influence in Madrid than the work of the few naturalists who strove to maintain the dead tradition. José Antolinz, Juan Antonio Escalante, Diego Polo, Juan Cabezalero, Francisco Camilo, Antonio Arias Fernández, and Juan de Alfaro[2] all testify to the power of the new facile impulse. Their pictures have a certain flimsy merit. They were all good colourists, and, as a rule, their touch was dexterous and light. But nothing compensates for the want of solidity that kills the reality of their work.

More truth can be discerned in the battle-scenes of José Leonardo,[3] a painter who died young; in the flower

[1] Francisco Rizi was born at Madrid, in 1608. He died at the Escorial, in 1685. He has five pictures in the Prado—an "Auto de Fé," a portrait of a general of the Spanish Artillery, an "Annunciation," an "Adoration of the King," and "A Presentation of Christ in the Temple." These words are written after the notice of Rizi's life in the Prado catalogue—"He contributed by the abuse of his genius to the decadence of the School of Madrid." Probably the finest picture by Rizi is "St. Benito celebrating Mass," in the Académia de Bellas Artes. In this picture we see his facility in rendering glimmering colour.

[2] The dates of these painters are here given, also the names of their pictures in the Royal Gallery—José Antolinz, 1639-76; "The Ecstasy of the Magdalene." Juan Escalante, 1630-70; "Holy Family," "The Infant Jesus with St. John," "The Prudent Abigail," "The Triumph of Faith." Diego Polo, 1620-55; he has no work in the Gallery; he died young; his pictures are said to have been admired by Velazquez, and Carl Justi says he imitated the manner of Titian. Cabezalero, 1633-73; "The Judgment of a Soul." Camilo, birth unknown, died 1671, "Martyrdom of St. Bartholomew." Arias Fernandéz, birth unknown, died 1684; "The Pharisees questioning the Christ." Juan de Alfaro, born 1640; a second-rate portrait-painter, praised by Palomino: Cean Bermudez discounts his estimate on account of the painter's careless execution.

[3] José Leonardo (1616-56). He painted the first presentment of "The Surrender of Breda." It is from this picture Velazquez is supposed to have taken the idea of the row of lancers in "Las Lanzas." The

studies of the Court artist, Juan de Arellano, and in the *bogégons* of Luis Menéndez. The power of these painters was infinitesimal, however, and their work did nothing to arrest the prevailing decline. Thus *Luca fa presto* found a school prepared to receive his teaching. His vitiated standard became the artistic ideal, and his influence was supreme at the Court. He was the dearly-loved favourite of the childish sovereign, who depended solely upon his advice in all questions of taste.

It was not long before Giordano's artistic empire was echoed in the provincial schools. The waning of the principle of realism had not been confined to Castile, and the decline of artistic expression in Andalusia and Valencia was complete. Seville, the city that from the fifteenth century had been the focus of southern culture, now had her schools flooded with crowds of inferior daubers, their one aim being to repeat the manner of Murillo. Here, as in Madrid, imitation was the death-blow of reality. And for two reasons, this effacement was more exhaustive in the provincial centres than it had been in Castile. The munificence of the Church had ebbed; no longer were the ecclesiastical capitals the fostering centres of art. The painters of Seville and Valencia were left, to a large extent, without patronage. All talent converged to Madrid, where there was still work to be done decorating the royal palaces and the Escorial. Many of the Castilian painters were drawn from the local schools. And for the mediocre painters that were left Murillo was a fatal precedent. The

Prado has a second picture by Leonardo, "The Duque de Feria, in a scene of the Thirty Years' War." Juan de Arellano (1614-76) was a noted painter of flower pieces. There are six of his studies in the Royal Gallery. Luis Menéndez was born at Naples, in 1716; he died at Madrid, in 1780. His many *bogégons* and fruit studies in the Prado are carefully painted. One religious composition of the "Virgin embracing the Infant Jesus" is good in colour and conception.

imitation of Velazquez, though it led to loss of personal insight, at least resulted in truthful work; but the copying of Murillo's manner degenerated into unreality and affectation. Those who strove to re-echo his style only succeeded in re-animating his faults. Inferior painters reiterating a worn-out ideal, the result was certain. The religious impulse was loosened, the passion for truth that had animated the culture of Andalusia was dead, and painting shared in the general eclipse.

Only one painter in Seville remained steadfast to the realistic maxim of Zurbarán and the elder Herrera, and he died in 1668, soon after the masters from whose work he had drawn his inspiration. Sebastián de Llanos y Valdés[1] worked in the studio of Herrera, and it is recorded that he bore the fury of that master's temper longer than any other disciple. This training is visible in the painter's pictures, where the figures are drawn with the old passion for truth and reality. The work of Valdés is rare, and there are no pictures of his in the Royal Gallery of Madrid, or in the Museo at Seville.[2]

Alonzo Miguel de Tobar, Francisco Meneses Osorio, and the slave Sebastián Goméz were the favoured pupils of Murillo.[3] Every stroke of their brush-work shows their effort to copy the style of their master. Miguel de Tobar

[1] Llanos y Valdés was the painter who fought a duel with Alonso Cano. He was several times president of the Seville Académia.

[2] Sir Edmund Head mentions a picture by Llanos Valdés which, at the time he wrote, was in the collection of the Duke of Dalmatia. It is a representation of the Virgin, known as the "Virgén del Rosaro." Sir Edmund Head speaks of "the truth of the figures, the richness of the drapery, and the southern glow of the background." In conclusion he writes: "All this combines, in my opinion, to place the picture among the finest works of the Spanish school."

[3] Miguel de Tobar was born in the small town of Higuera, in Andalusia, in 1678, and died at Madrid, in 1758. The date and birthplace of Osorio are unknown; he died after 1700. Nothing is known of the life of Goméz: tradition says he was the slave of Murillo.

had, perhaps, the most talent. His "Holy Family," in Seville Cathedral, is an excellent imitative picture; while his portrait of Murillo, in the Madrid Gallery, proves his power as a copyist. The imagery of Meneses Osorio was equally servile. We scan his work in vain for any trace of his own expression. Osorio finished Murillo's uncompleted altar-piece at Cadiz. His canvases in Seville Museo and elsewhere are feeble transcripts of the Sevillian favourite. In the pictures of Goméz we trace the reflection of Murillo's colour. His "Conception" in the Museo de la Merced proves how closely he re-echoed his teacher. Tradition reports the manner in which the slave gained his freedom. One day he finished a head Murillo had left upon his easel to dry. His master saw the work and recognised its merit. "I am indeed fortunate, Sebastián," was his reported remark, "for I have created not only pictures, but a painter."

Among the numerous group of effete workers who may be tabulated as "Murillo imitators," Pedro Núñez de Villavicencio and Francisco Antolinez y Sarabia had some glimmering of original talent. Both painters belonged to illustrious families, and worked for pleasure rather than for gain. A study by Villavicencio,[1] in the Prado, of "Muchachos[2] playing a Game of Dice," is a fine piece of *genre* work. The rendering of the "Conception," in Seville Museo, is more conventional. Francisco Antolinez painted many religious compositions, which are now at Madrid.[3] They are lightly

[1] Núñez de Villavicencio was born at Seville in 1635. He was the friend of Murillo and worked with him at the Académia. At the end of his life he went to Madrid. He died at Seville in 1700.

[2] The word *muchachos* means boys. The term is always used for street urchins.

[3] Francisco Antolinez was born at Seville, the year is unknown. He worked with Murillo at the Académia. Later he came to Madrid, where he died in 1676. He was the nephew of José Antolinez. There

handled, and have the appearance of being studies for Murillo's pictures.

The Sevillian painter, Ignacio de Iriarte, demands a more distinctive notice. He was the one Spanish artist of any moment who worked exclusively at landscape.[1] Iriarte was born at Azcoitia, a small town in Guipúzcoa, in 1620. He spent his life in Seville, and died in 1685.[2] His pictures are not often seen, and there is no example of his work in the Museo of the southern capital. Four of his studies are in the Prado at Madrid. They are wild and rugged scenes, showing rocks, water, and trees. One study of a wind-torn stump on the verge of a tumbling stream is a sketch of power. The Spanish writers are extravagant in praise of Iriarte's vistas. They term him "the Claude Lorraine of Spain"; and Murillo is reported to have said, "his scenes were painted by divine inspiration." This adulation is not merited. Iriarte's craggy glens and rushing torrents are not without charm; but they miss the subtle atmosphere that alone gives landscape the appearance of a natural scene. The painter's greatest claim to remembrance arises from the distinctiveness of his effort. A friend and fellow-worker of Murillo, he still maintained his personal individuality.[3]

To linger further with the bands of ineffectual workers in Seville, Córdova, Valencia, and Cadiz would be superfluous.

are six of his scriptural studies in the Prado—A "Presentation," "Annunciation," and "Marriage of the Virgin"; a "Birth of Christ," an "Adoration of the Kings," and a "Flight into Egypt."

[1] Juan de Zamora painted landscapes in Seville during the seventeenth century. About the same time Henrique de las Marinas was painting sea-pieces at Cadiz. Neither painter gained more than local fame.

[2] The place of his death is unrecorded.

[3] For many years Iriarte painted landscapes as backgrounds to Murillo's figure-groups.

In every centre the decline was manifest, and each year the artistic outgrowth became more enfeebled.[1] We may close the record of the Andalusian school with two painters not remembered for their pictures, but as the chroniclers of the artistic narrative of their country. Palomino y Velasco[2] is the Vasari of the Peninsula. His *Museo Pictorico* is a treasure-store of legend and fact, which invests the story of the Spanish artists with the interest of life. The work of Juan Augustin Cean

[1] The pupils of Zurbarán, Bernabé de Ayala, and the brothers Polancos strove to maintain the reality of their master. Los Polancos left a number of sincere studies; but the work of these painters bears the imprint of the student's hand. Their influence was absolutely powerless against the strength of the popular admiration for Murillo. The two best painters of Valencia were Nicolas de Villacis, who died in 1690, and Mateo Gilarete, who lived from 1648 to 1700. Their work was feeble, and they did nothing to arrest the decay of Valencian art. In the eighteenth century, an inferior painter, Josef de Vergara, induced Charles III. to found the Académia of San Carlos, to train the artists of the province. But no college can produce good painters when natural power is absent; and the art of Valencia was dead. The only centres that remained unaffected by the change in the artistic life were the small schools of Aragon and Catalonia. (See the chapter following.)

[2] Palomino's full name is Acisclo Antonio Palomino de Castro y Velasco. He was born at Bujalance, near Córdova, in 1653. He died in 1725. He painted both fresco and easel paintings. There are three of his pictures in the Prado. They are all feeble. The best is a "Conception." Carl Justi praises Palomino's ceiling paintings in the church of Los Santos Juanes, at Valencia. He says of these decorations: "They hold their own with the efforts of Solimena and Cavaliere del Pozzo." The title of the painter's book is *El Museo Pictorico y Escala Optica.* The licence for publishing the work was obtained in 1700, but it was not printed till 1715. A second edition was issued in 1724. The literary style of the book is poor, and it is crowded with religious mysticism. The most interesting section is the end, which recounts the lives of the artists. It abounds with anecdotes, and many are graphically told, but often their authenticity is very doubtful. An abridged English edition was published in 1739.

Bermudez[1] was more scholarly. His writing has not the picturesque delight that illumines the legendary annals of Palomino; but his painstaking research has rendered his record more authentic; and the *Diccionario Historico* of the painter-biographer is still the standard native authority on all questions of Spanish art.

In the last months of the seventeenth century Charles II. died, without issue, and the art-loving Austrian dynasty was closed. This event is often cited as the cause of the debased condition of Spanish painting during the eighteenth century. Yet, as we have seen, the source lay deeper, it arose from the rottenness of the national life. We have traced the ebb of the impulse for realism. We have seen the strong Spanish ideal for truthful expression replaced by a tendency whose watchword was imitation, and whose execution was governed by a cry for facility. Thus, when the Bourbons came to the throne they found a dying tradition, and they did nothing to re-animate the artistic life.

During the first years of the Bourbon monarchy Spain was devastated by the War of the Spanish Succession, when the very foundations of her peaceful civic growth were sapped. The sovereigns Philip V.[2] and Ferdinand VI. possessed little æsthetic culture. Their meagre taste was French, and they had no appreciation for Spanish painting. The only artists favoured by the Court were Jean Ranc and Louis Michel van Loo.[3] Their alien

[1] Cean Bermudez lived from 1749-1829. He worked in the Académia of Seville. Later he went to Madrid and studied with Raphael Mengs. He has left a few inferior paintings. None of his pictures are in the Royal Gallery. The *Diccionario Historico* was published at Madrid, in 1800.

[2] Philip V., the first of the Bourbon monarchs, was the grandson of Maria Teresa, the daughter of Philip IV.

[3] Many portraits of the Bourbon royalty by Jean Ranc and Van Loo are in the Prado.

methods of work still further undermined any lingering efforts of the Spanish painters towards a personal expression. The memory of Velazquez had faded, and the very tradition of a national school of painting, apparently, was effaced. In 1734 a fire raged in the Alcázar of Charles V., and the treasure-store of the Hapsburg rulers was rendered a wreck of crumbling ashes. Many native master-works were burned, and the collection of royal pictures was left in a condition of inextricable confusion that no one cared to disentangle.

Charles III., who inherited the crown in 1759, was animated by a wavering desire to re-establish the artistic supremacy of Spain. He issued an edict to prevent treasures of art being exported from the country, and in 1761 he invited the Venetian fresco-painter, Giovanni Battista Tiepolo, and the Saxon, Anton Raphael Mengs, to visit Spain, and undertake the decoration of the new Alcázar.[1]

The Venetian painter stayed in the Castilian Court until his death in 1770. His son Domingo worked with him, and the two painters executed frescoes for the palace, and many easel pictures for the royal convents. The allegiance granted to Lucca Giordano was now rendered to Tiepolo. It became the aim of the native workers to imitate his fantastic and slightly-handled compositions. Once again the Madrid painters suffered from the

[1] In the Prado catalogue Tiepolo's death is given March 27th, 1770. By many English writers the date is April 25th, 1769. There are three pictures by the elder Tiepolo in the Prado—a "Conception" and a study of the Eucharist were painted for the Convent of San Pascual, at Aranjuez. The third picture is a secular study entitled "The Flesh of Venus." Domingo Tiepolo succeeded his father as royal painter. He remained at Madrid until his death; the date is not known. The Prado has eight of his pictures. They were painted for the Convent of San Felipi Neri, at Madrid, and are religious scenes illustrating the Passion of Christ. There are pictures by both the elder and the younger Tiepolo in Dulwich Gallery.

ascendency of a master whose brilliancy glittered their imagination, while his loose and hasty execution at the same time ruined the sincerity of their work.

The influence of Raphael Mengs[1] was perhaps even more disastrous. His painting echoes "the last shadow of eclectic mannerism."[2] Beneath his dreary, academic sway Spanish painting sank deeper, day by day, into a slough of unnatural utterance.

It would be useless to record in detail the efforts of the native painters who laboured during this epoch of moral, civic, and artistic prostration. Carried, like the fluttering leaf, from one foreign sway to another, Spanish artists had no impulse strong enough to maintain the national style. Francisco Bayeu y Subias, Mariano Salvador Maella, Zacaria and Antonio Velazquez, Herrera Barnuevo, and many others painted frescoes and easel pictures.[3] They have left a vast amount of dull and enfeebled work that remains a testimony to the degradation of Castilian painting.

[1] Raphael Mengs remained in Madrid until 1771, when he returned to Rome. He again visited the Spanish Court, but the climate of Madrid tried his health, and he retired to Italy, where he died in 1779. The Prado has a vast quantity of his work. There are fifteen portraits of the royal household, five religious scenes, and a study of himself. The pictures are dull and correct; they are devoid of life.

[2] Carl Justi.

[3] Bayeu (1734-95), Maella (1739-1819.) These two painters often worked together. They executed many inferior frescoes in all the chief cities of Castile. (See page 24.) The Royal Gallery has many of their pictures. The brothers Velazquez and Herrera Barnuevo worked for the Court during the eighteenth century. They chiefly painted frescoes for the Alcázar. None of their pictures are in the Royal Gallery.

CHAPTER XVI.

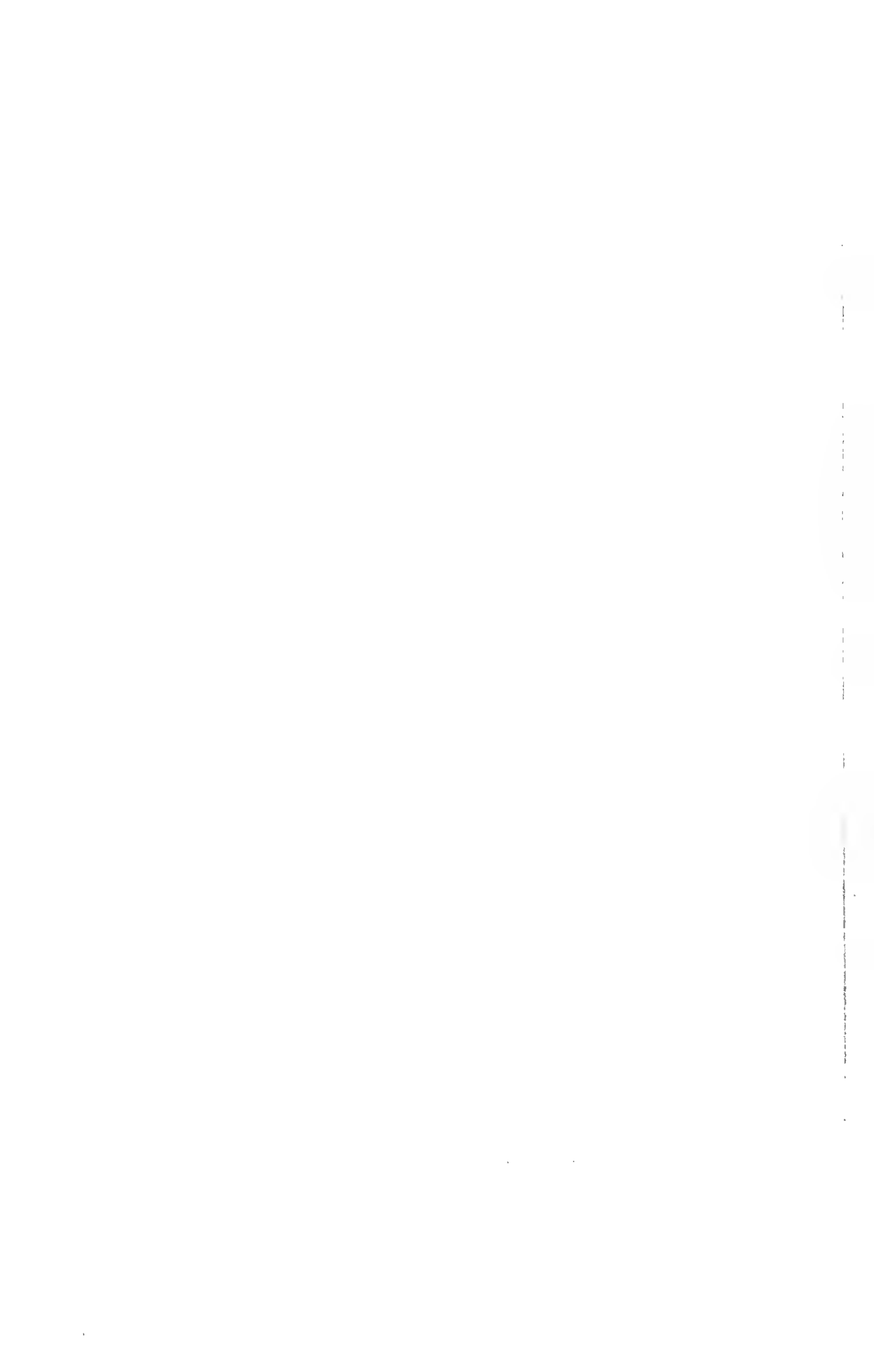
THE BRIEF REVIVAL OF ART UNDER FRANCISCO GOYA Y LUCIENTES, THE GENIUS OF SATIRE, 1746-1828.

THE small schools of Aragon and Catalonia had remained quiescent during those epochs of development, fruition, and decline. Since the fifteenth century, when the Gothic painter Luis de Dalmau worked at Barcelona, no artist of merit had arisen in either centre. And now, in the period of decadence, this very insignificance was a cause of artistic gain. No great master had created a fashionable manner in these provincial schools, far removed from the sway of the Court. The local studios were not flooded with crowds of imitative workers. Many painters had striven alone, and although their achievement had never been great, at least it had been a personal expression. While Castile and Andalusia were sinking in the shoals of artistic mediocrity, two painters worked at Barcelona and Zaragoza, who clung to the old tradition that, above all else, the artist should cherish the truth of his personal vision.

Antonio Viladomat was born at Barcelona in 1678. His pictures are sincere in conception, true in colour, and they bear no evidence of mannered imitation. Many instances of Viladomat's work may be seen in his native city. His renderings of the Life of Christ in the Capilla del Santisimo Sagramento of the Cathedral, the scenes from the history of St. Francis in the Casa Lonja, and an altar-piece, with illustrations of Christ's Passion, in the Gothic Church of Santa Maria, all reveal the sincerity of his purpose. Josef Luján Martinez, the foremost painter of

Portrait of Goya when young.

by himself.



Zaragoza, was born in 1710. He studied in Naples, and although endowed with less natural power than Viladomat, he was a careful and diligent worker, who believed in the inspiration of nature. Thus, the artistic life of Aragon and Catalonia was not exhausted. Truth was still potent, and the schools waited for the cry of a great worker, who would voice the spirit of his age.

On the 31st day of March, 1746, in the village of Fuendetodos, a few leagues from Zaragoza, Francisco Goya y Lucientes was born. "The regenerator of the Spanish school of naturalistic painters,"[1] he was the impassioned embodiment of tumultuous modern complexity, breaking from old traditions.

The hamlet of Fuendetodos rests upon the banks of a stream, foaming at the base of pine-decked mountains. Here the ardent mind of Francisco grew. His father was a gilder, and the slender resources of the family exempted the boy from the evil of ineffectual training. For fifteen years he had no teacher, but with persistent eagerness he drew the common objects that he saw around him. One day Francisco was sent by his father with a sack of flour to an adjacent mill. Upon the highway he stopped to draw a passing pig, with a piece of charcoal upon a whitewashed wall. The sketch was striking, and a monk, who was walking from Zaragoza, recognised the truth and originality of the work.

"Who is your master?" he questioned the boy.

"I have none, your reverence," replied Francisco. "It is not my fault, I cannot keep from drawing," he added with passionate earnestness, fearing he had incurred the displeasure of the ecclesiastic.

This answer unmasks the prompting motive of Goya's life. He was endowed in full measure with the histrionic character of his race. His temperament was electric, it

[1] These words preface the notice of Goya's pictures in the catalogue of the Museo del Prado.

impelled him by a force that was bound to find direct expression. There was profound truth in his boyish apology, "I cannot keep from drawing."

The priest, Fray Felix Salvador, remained the boy's friend. He obtained his father's permission for Francisco to go to Zaragoza and be trained in the studio of Luján Martinez. The young student worked with the ardent and untiring enthusiasm of his nature. From the very first he displayed a passion for the natural. He followed no conventional standards, and his continuous study was directed to the development of his exuberant individuality. To comprehend the truth, and afterwards to depict it, as it pleased his ever-varying fancy, this was his great aim. His utterance was inevitable and instinctive, the overflow of his dramatic, inexhaustible, and vivid imagination.

Goya was passionate in everything. Thrice he fell under the ban of the Inquisition, and many stories are told of the wild escapades of his youth. To escape the displeasure of the Holy Office he went to Madrid, where he devoted his energy to studying the pictures in the royal galleries. He lived the disorderly life of a young revolutionary, and one morning he was found lying in the streets, stabbed through the back. Fear of the Inquisition again made Goya a fugitive. He had no money, but he determined to visit Rome, and worked his way to the coast as a picador, with a company of bull-fighters. For several years Goya remained in Italy, meditating much, but painting little.[1] The early Italian school especially attracted him, and he spent many hours contemplating these works. A mad adventure, which had for its object the rescue of a young maid from a convent, for the third

[1] The *Mercure de France* tells us he won a prize for a picture of "Hannibal surveying Rome from a pinnacle of the Alps." There is a full-length likeness of Pope Benedict XIV., still in the Vatican, which was painted in a few hours. But we have no record of any other work.

time drew the displeasure of the Church upon the painter' and in 1775 he returned to Madrid. Goya was now nearly thirty, and throughout these ardent years of training and self-growth, he had painted little.

It is necessary here to pause for a moment, that we may consider the historical significance of Goya's position in the Madrid capital. The corruption and debasement of the Bourbon reign will not have been forgotten. A country facing the gulf of national ruin, a Court frivolous and tainted, a society cankered, a religious fabrication without vitality, an artistic expression lost in affected mediocrity—such was the environment that surrounded Francisco Goya. And his keen genius comprehended the full purport of this burden of decay. Goya was a revolutionist and a prophet; he was "a voice crying in the wilderness." No man ever realised more completely the meaning of the life which existed around him. This being so, what utterance was possible for Goya but an utterance of satire? Such an age could only listen to a message wreathed in a shroud of ridicule it was unable to decipher. Only in this way could Goya express that national truth which was the primal instinct of his art.

Herein rests the explanation of much that is apparently contradictory in the record of Goya's life. A revolutionist, he was yet the servant of kings; an unbeliever, he painted pictures for the Church; a volcanic lover, he derided the folly he called into existence. Goya was an artistic and quizzical onlooker at the life of the Madrid Court. It was not difficult for him to transfer his allegiance from the Bourbons to Joseph Bonaparte. He was equally ready to welcome Ferdinand VII. to the throne. What did such changes matter in years of irretrievable ruin? The Church desired his pictures because he was the favourite painter of the Court. Well, he would paint what the Catholic fathers commissioned; but even in this work he would still record the truth. The

Chapter of Seville Cathedral wished a representation of Santas Justa y Rufina,[1] the chosen protectors of the city. Goya painted the picture, and selected for his models two well-known *majas* of Madrid. "I will cause the faithful to worship vice," was his grim and caustic remark. If Queen Maria Luisa and the Countess of Benavente[2] elected to shower favours upon him, he would accept their benefits and ironically deride their folly. His portraits and his caricatures are a sardonic witness of his estimate of their character.

With his whole nature Goya hated hypocrisy, tyranny, and cruelty, the triune vices that governed the community in which he lived. It is impossible to understand Goya's work unless we remember these things. Nor can we appreciate the position he occupies, not only as the protestor against the decadence of Spain, but as the herald of a new ideal. Catholic and king-bound Spain now brought forth the painter, whose whole work was a protest against worn-out traditions. Goya's life and art both witness how deeply and how passionately he realised those conflicting motives which, in the eighteenth century, swept away the old impulses and gave birth to new-born thoughts. If Velazquez taught the world the verity of personal vision, Goya's satire manifested the revolutionary truth of individual freedom.

Goya's rise into popularity was rapid. In Rome he had gained the friendship of the Court painter, Francisco

[1] See pp. 217, 218.

[2] The Countess of Benavente was an important member of the Osuna family. Goya painted many pictures for the Alameda, her country palace near Madrid. These works were scattered at the sale of the Osuna collection in 1896. The two pictures in the National Gallery, "The Picnic" and "The Bewitched," were purchased at that time. No. 55 of the *Caprichos* shows an old woman standing before a table heaped with cosmetics to hide the ravages of age. The etching is called "Until Death," and the figure is supposed to represent the Countess.

La Merienda on the Banks of the Manzanares.

By Goya.

Bayeu,[1] who now gave him his daughter Josefa in marriage. He obtained the confidence of Raphael Mengs,[2] the Bourbon dictator of Art, and through his influence received a commission to paint a series of designs for the tapestries woven at the Fábrica de Tapices de Santa Bárbara. The work appealed to Goya's fancy. He was empowered to select his own subjects, and was thus able to employ the full wealth of his imagination. In a series of vivid pictures, the cartoons describe the many-sided incidents of Spanish peasant life. The intended object of the designs accounts for their crude, raw colouring, and for the rough texture of the paint, defects that have unfortunately clouded the originality and essential merit of the work. The figures are full of animation and action. We see the brightest side of the national life in these scenes of merry romping. The "*Merienda* on the banks of the Manzanares," "Children blowing a great bladder in the air," "*El Bebedor;* or, the love potion," "The women washing their linen in the river," "The blind *guitarra*," "The *comita* or the kite," "The dance in San Antonio de la Florida," "The *muchachos* playing at soldiers," "The stilt-walkers," "The tossing of the *pelele* (fool) in the blanket," "*El juego de pelota*," the national game[3]—every scene overflows with irresistible gaiety. The directness, the spontaneity of the painter's handling conveys a sense of pulsating life.

All the early work of Goya manifests his dramatic Spanish gift—that power of picturing animated instants, which has ever characterised the painters of Spain. The group of studies, now in the Académia de Bellas Artes, were painted during the first years at Madrid. They are a series of satirical fantasias, representations of the bull-fights, of the Inquisition, and mad scenes of carnival,

[1] See p. 273. [2] See p. 273.

[3] Many of these scenes were re-painted for the Alameda palace. These canvases are smaller, and the handling is more delicate.

"Las Corridas de Toros," "El Auto de Fe," "The Procession of the Viérnes Santo," and "El Entierro de la Sardina," are imaginations of supreme power. Perhaps no pictures mirror more fully the merry, satirical magic that often guided Goya's brush. A pulsation of modern restlessness breathes in the drawings, with their vigorous movement and passionate personality. They are full of profound suggestion, dramatic conceptions, where the scene is arrested and thrown living upon the canvas. With subtle indication, Goya conveys a whole idea by a single line or a bold wash of colour. "The burial fête of la Sardina" is a piece of derisive truth and mocking humour. The picture is typical of Goya's power. It reveals his unmatched skill in depicting a crowded scene, it shows his love of the bizarre and the grotesque, and it has all the strong fascination which causes his work to grip the imagination and remain stirring in the memory.

Goya was pre-eminently fitted, both by his environment and by his nature, to be the exponent of *genre*. Spain abounds in the picturesque, and Goya had the rare gift of comprehending the varied phases of life which surrounded him, and the power of giving back his impressions to the world, clothed in pictorial form. From the first he realised the essential merit of decorative presentment, and his *genre* studies are like flashes of insight imprisoned in line and paint. "A picture is finished when its effect is true," is a remark attributed to Goya. He faithfully recorded the manifold incidents of intimate life, and he carried his *genre* representation into the realms of the romantic and the diabolical. Whether he painted the holiday revels of the people, as in the wondrous vista of the "Romeria de San Isidro,"[1] with its witchery of

[1] This picture was painted for the Alameda Palace. It represents the annual *fiesta* of San Isidro, on the banks of the Manzanares. It is one of the most detailed and carefully executed pictures that Goya painted. It is said that he wrote to a friend that he would not easily consent to do such a work again.

movement, or depicted pieces of gallantry, such as the "Majas on the Balcony" and the "Coach attacked by Brigands,"[1] or whether his pictures were visions of pure fantasy, it was the same. They are studies full of instantaneous motion, where each conception reproduces a dramatic moment that clearly tells its own story. Even witches and demons are endowed with reality by the vigour of their realisation. The keen vitality of the painter carries us through the wide range of his imagination. For this was the power of Goya to compel us to comprehend his own vision. He vitalised every scene. Satirical and critical, his *genre* studies are of exquisite merit. They give examples of the finest drawing of the artist, they show us the outward life of eighteenth-century Spain, while at the same time they unveil the inner significance of that complex society.

The years between 1780 and 1800 mark the period of Goya's greatest popularity. He was elected a member of the Académia de San Fernando in 1780, owing to the success of the tapestry cartoons. In addition he had painted two religious studies of the "Crucified Christ"[2] and of "St. Francis," which gained the admiration of Charles II., although these representations were unsuited to his genius, and are among the least interesting of his works. He was entrusted with the decoration of one of the cupolas in the Church of the Virgen del Pilar, at his native city of Zaragoza;[3] and it was not long before his fantastic and novel representations became fashionable among the nobility of Madrid. The favoured Minister, the Conde de Florida Blanca, introduced him to the royal

[1] The first picture was painted for the Duc de Montpensier to decorate the Palace of San Telmo at Seville. The second canvas also belonged to the Osuna collection. [2] Now in the Prado.

[3] The Chapter of Zaragoza at first objected to Goya's designs, but he refused to alter them, owing probably to a difference with his father-in-law, Bayeu, who had been appointed to superintend the entire decoration of the cathedral.

circle, where he speedily gained the patronage of the Infante don Luis, for whom many portraits and *genre* pieces were painted during those years. Charles III. died in 1789. His successor, Charles IV., at once appointed Goya *Pintor de Cámara del Rey;* and although Mariano Maella[1] remained the official head of the royal artists, the newly-elected painter was the acknowledged favourite, and every year his status at the Court became more privileged.

There is something ludicrous in the thought of Goya being the favoured painter of the Spanish Court. He appears to have taken little trouble to hide his revolutionary opinions, or to trim his conduct to accord with regal ceremony. A story is told of the painter-courtier, which well illustrates his attitude of mocking merriment for the life he at the same time enjoyed and derided.

During a period of royal mourning the painter defied the Court etiquette by entering the palace arrayed in white stockings. Admittance was refused by the guard, whereupon Goya quietly withdrew, but in half-an-hour he returned with caricatures of the warders painted all over the offending garments.

Goya's position in the royal household was one of singular independence. The new monarch and his Queen, Doña Maria Luisa, disliked the decorum of the Court. They were attracted by the painter's vivid humour, and his incisive wit came as a relief amid the tedium and pomp of Spanish formality. Goya, the revolutionist, became the friend of the King, while Doña Luisa and the Countess of Benavente contended for the diversion of his company. Of his relations with the Duquesa de Alba it is necessary to speak. His love and friendship for the beautiful Duchess was strong and sincere, and during the brightest years of his life her fascination inspired his expression. He attended her during the banishment to San Lucar, and in her service incurred the deafness that

[1] See p. 273.

LA FAMILIA DE CARLOS IV.

(*The Family of Carlos IV.*)

BY GOYA.

shadowed his later years.[1] Painter, courtier, lover, Goya manifests many aspects. Yet, if we understand his genius rightly, all contradictions are solved when we realise that he was an onlooker at, rather than an operator in, many incidents of his life. Above all else Goya was an artist, and to him experience brought enlightenment. He could smile while he acted the courtier, and remain the lover of freedom in an atmosphere of corruption. Nay, he gained a certain joy from the manifold folly of his surroundings, the bitter merriment of the satirist who realises in full a baseness he cannot change.

Looking at the numerous portraits executed during this time of courtly residence, the first thought that arises is how versatile was the genius of the painter. Goya was a vivid portraitist. His likenesses are almost always surprising; they are new versions of old truths. Indeed, it is difficult to think that these many varied personations were painted by one hand. Again and again we are challenged by some new aspect, as a fresh portrait rises to greet us, causing us to re-cast our judgment of the painter. Goya looks at his sitters in his own way. He is at once tender and brutal; careless, he is yet painstaking. Here a face repels us with its unflinching coarseness, and again, in another work, we are delighted with the delicate intuition of the rendering. His portraits are an electric battery of artistic shocks. In some canvases the handling is rough, while in others the brush-work is smoothly elaborated. At times the tones are crude, and here and there are dull and heavy tints difficult to comprehend. But, side by side with these darkly hued sketches, hang portraits that

[1] The story of Goya's attachment to the Duquesa is well known. During the journey of banishment to San Lucar an accident happened to the coach. With his usual energy Goya set to work to repair the mishap. He lighted a fire, and strove to weld a bar of iron that had broken. A chill ensued after this unwonted labour, and the result was the beginning of the deafness, which afterwards became complete.

are luminous with colour, studies in shimmering greys, glowing yellows, and transparent draperies of lustrous light. There is no criticism that can be offered upon one portrait that would not be contradicted by reference to another.[1] Contrast the likeness of his little grandson,[2] a delightful study of dainty boyhood, with his presentment of Doña Luisa, in the private apartments of the Alcázar at Seville. This last picture is painted with merciless frankness, and remorselessly exposes Goya's estimate of the Queen. The royal portraits are a mocking burlesque of the Bourbon corruptness, which reveal a quaint mingling of coarseness and grandeur. It is impossible to gaze upon the family group of Carlos IV., in the Prado, without realising its intense humour. One knows not whether to admire most the skill of the execution or the satirical faithfulness of the conception. The equestrian and other portraits of Charles IV. and Doña Luisa, in fact all the likenesses of the Bourbon royalty,[3] are brutal. They mirror the hidden merriment with which Goya recorded the Court history. The pictures are very strong and very Spanish.

At all times Goya trusted to his intuition to guide him, and his one aim in rendering a likeness was to present the personality of his subject. Frankness, freshness, and vitality of handling are the prime merits of his portraits. He painted with remarkable rapidity, one or two sittings often being sufficient to complete a picture. His sitters were compelled to observe perfect silence. The painter would arrange his canvas, his model and all his accessories, and then remain for long wrapped in profound reflection. Without thought Goya could do nothing. He would

[1] In 1900 an exhibition was held at Madrid of Goya's pictures, when many portraits and other studies, which had been guarded in private collections, were shown for the first time.

[2] In the collection of the Marquis d'Alcañices.

[3] In the Prado Gallery.

DOÑA JOSEFA BAYEU (WIFE OF GOYA).

BY GOYA.

often say, "The secret of the painter rests in his deep study of the object and in the firmness of his execution."

Many of his likenesses are mere sketches, washed in with a certain impatience, almost as if the painter had tired of his subject and refused to complete his work. For finish, in the sense of elaboration, Goya cared little. A portrait was complete when it reflected the idea in his mind. Even in his pictures of momentary impression there is always a clear intention—indeed, many of his portrait sketches are wondrous with suggestion. In the Print Room of the British Museum is a head of the young Duke of Wellington.[1] The study is executed in sanguine. It is a subtle drawing of direct character interpretation that has the rare quality of incisiveness.

Goya has always something definite to say. He cared little that his work should please. His portraits are flashes of mercurial vision, the immediate outcome of his complex vitality. This accounts for the apparent contradictions in his treatment. His very handling was decided by the effect produced upon him by his sitter. When he obtained a subject that delighted his imagination, how loving and how careful was his workmanship. A certain unusual suavity of manner governs the portrait, in the Prado, of his friend and father-in-law, Don Francisco Bayeu. Here a refinement that borders upon the exquisite is conveyed by the extreme delicacy of the rendering. Again, there is a portrait study of a youth[2] that is an incomparable harmony of greys. This picture curiously recalls the work of Gainsborough. Goya rejoiced in the special beauty of his countrywomen, and his brush lingered lovingly in presenting the señoras he loved. The portrait of his wife Josefa, now in the Royal Gallery, is a study of infinite suggestion.

[1] An excellent reproduction of this sketch is given in Mr. Rothenstein's work on Goya.

[2] This portrait was exhibited at Paris in 1885.

The comparisons afforded by Goya's portraits are almost endless. In his vivid impression of Asensi,[1] a canvas in the collection of the Duc de Montpensier, he gives a swift realisation of a personality, where the details are washed in hurriedly, and the whole scheme subordinated to the general effect of motion. We find the exact opposite in the dainty portrait of the Marquesa de Pontejos,[2] the sister-in-law of the Conde de Florida Blanca. Here every accessory of dress and landscape is carefully elaborated. The picture is an exquisite and highly-wrought study that again recalls the treatment of Gainsborough. The studies of the draped and the nude Maja, in the Académia de Bellas Artes, present yet another aspect of the painter's power. In these pictures the modelling is firm and delicate, all the fullest value of colour and texture is given; they are intimate realisations of the beauty of flesh.[3]

It would be easy indefinitely to multiply examples, but sufficient has been said to witness how fully Goya's work maintains the Spanish power for portraiture. With brilliancy and audacity he interpreted the gift of his nation. His portraits are complex and diversified, yet one *motif* underlies them all. Each one is complete, for each represents the idea of the painter.

[1] This work is also reproduced in Mr. Rothenstein's work.

[2] In the private collection of the Marquesa de Martorell.

[3] It is not possible to name the numerous portraits Goya executed. Besides the canvases already noticed, the Prado has fourteen of his portrait studies. The most important are the equestrian painting of General Palafox, a portrait of General Urrutia, a likeness of Ferdinand VII., young; an early portrait of Charles III., a fine picture of the Dukes of Osuna, studies of the royal children, and a presentment of himself. In the Académia de San Fernando are excellent portraits of Don Manuel Godoy, of Fernando VII., and a very interesting picture of Goya, painted by himself when still young. There are other portraits in the Ayuntamiento and in the Banco de España. Almost every collection in Spain has some

Among Goya's manifold paintings, perhaps none illustrate his exceptional genius so completely as the canvases he originated for his own house, which are now collected in the Museo del Prado. These pictures are full of a grim significance, and their ghastly humour is a revelation of Goya's inner thought. No words can describe them, they compel attention, they rivet themselves with startling force upon the memory. The diabolical has never been more forcibly represented than in the conception of "Saturn devouring his Son." Almost of equal horror is "Judith cutting off the Head of Holofernes." The scene of the "Witches' Sabbath," a group of scarce human politicians, the grim "Pilgrimage of the Inquisition along the Romeria de San Isidro," are pictures of inspiration. Haunting shapes rise from the dark backgrounds of the canvases; the terrible suggestiveness of the scenes fascinates the imagination. Goya had an intense and artistic appreciation of the picturesqueness of the grotesque. It was not that he loved the horrible because of its horror, rather he realised that the ugly and the distorted are a part of nature. He covered his walls with a true vision of society, as he saw it, interpreted in his own rugged satire. The trenchant reality of his conception is almost bewildering. His religious and political caricatures have a stinging subtlety. They are no mere records of the follies of Castile; the clearness of Goya's vision endowed them with a fuller significance.

portrait by Goya. There are several fine studies in the Alcázar at Seville, notably the portrait of Queen Doña Maria Luisa already mentioned. The ancient palace of San Telmo had many of the painter's works, until the recent removal of the treasures from the palace by the heirs of the Infanta Maria Luisa. There are two of his portraits in the National Gallery—one of Doña Isabel Corbo de Porcel, and the other a study in grey of Don Peral, lent to the National Collection by Mr. T. Donaldson. There is a fine portrait-study in the Louvre of the French Ambassador Guillemardet.

It was one of the contradictions of Goya's life that he was commissioned to paint pictures for the Church. He appears never to have taken trouble to hide his opinions, and his animus against the ecclesiastical body was always manifest. At all times he found his patrons among those whom he derided, and it might almost appear that he bewitched his contemporaries with the power of his personality. But the truth was, rather, that no one of them had wit enough to comprehend the import of his humour. Thus, the churches of Madrid, Seville, Toledo, Zaragoza, and Valencia, all have examples of his scriptural compositions.[1] Many of these works are unimportant, and there can be little doubt that the painting of them was distasteful to Goya. We have already noted the derision with which he pictured "Santas Justa y Rufina," for the Chapter of Seville. The choice of his models illuminates the humour with which he executed his commissions. If he was constrained to produce religious pictures he would treat them as he pleased, and it is probable that his frescoes, in the Church of San Antonio de la Florida at Madrid, are the most ironical work that he effected.[2]

[1] The best known of these scriptural scenes are the frescoes in the Church of San Antonio de la Florida, at Madrid; "St. Francisco de Borga saying Adieu to his Family," and the Repentance of the same saint, a quaint study of a demoniac, rather than saintly character, in the Cathedral of Valencia; the "Betrayal of Christ by Judas," in the Sacristía of Toledo Cathedral, remarkable for the characterisation of its heads; "Santas Justa y Rufina at Seville"; the frescoes at Zaragoza; the "Crucifixion," and a "Sacred Family," from the Convento de San Francisco el Grande, now in the Prado; and the last work executed by Goya, a fine rendering of the "Communion of San José of Calasanz," in the Church of San Anton Abad, at Madrid.

[2] Good reproductions of these frescoes are the drawings in *aquafuerto*, by D. José Galvan y Candela, with descriptive text (in Spanish) by D. Juan de Dios de la Rada y Délgado. A copy of this work may be seen in the British Museum.

Santas Justa y Rufina.

by Goya.

The gilded temple was the fashionable religious gathering place for irreligious Madrid, and in 1798 the Court painter was entrusted with the ornamentation of the building. Goya perfectly interpreted the spirit of the Church de la Florida; but no one of his countrymen realised the irreverent irony of his work. For three months he laboured, it is said, without missing a single day, and Madrid went wild with excitement at the glory of his accomplishment. Everywhere the figures are broadly treated, and the whole effect is one of vigorous and spirited motion. The supposed theme is the raising of a dead man, by San Antonio de Padua, in order that he may disclose the name of his murderer. But the sacred *motif* is wholly secondary. The saint stands behind a railing which circles the cupola. All around are grouped a motley assemblage of men and women, a crowd that might have been gathered from the streets of Madrid. Yet it is in them that all interest is centred. Many of the faces gleam forth with strong fascination, the miracle of the raising of the dead is forgotten, and the scene expresses earthly imaginations. Throughout the building it is the same, the angels sporting on the spandrils and the tympanums are audacious in their freedom of attitude and daring foreshortening; the cherubs on the arch, immediately below the cupola, are babes of wanton loveliness. Never were the residents of heaven clothed in stranger guise. The frescoes of La Florida are yet another witness to the truthful humour of Goya's insight.

It accords with our estimate of Goya's character that this was the precise time he chose to execute the series of etchings, now known as "Los Caprichos." The success of the frescoes of La Florida had left him without a rival among the Court painters,[1] and the security of his

[1] He now gained the post he had long desired of chief painter to the king, and became the official head of the royal artists in place of Maella.

position now enabled him to work solely for his own gratification. A study of Rembrandt's prints seems to have awakened his imagination to the power of the graver's needle;[1] and it may be that he felt the need of a more forcible instrument than paint in which to express the overwhelming satire, the outgrowth of these years of ecclesiastical and courtly triumph. The "Caprichos" were issued separately, and were, in the first instance, circulated privately at Madrid. Their audacity, and the ridicule of their unveiled allusions, pierced the armour of Castilian arrogance. Not even Goya's popularity was able to avert the outburst of indignation which arose when the clergy, for the first time, realised the mockery of his intention. The tribunal of the Inquisition was called into action, and nothing but the interposition of the King, who made it appear that the prints had been issued at his command,[2] exempted him from rendering the penalty of his humour.

It is worthy of notice that, while in colour Goya worked with a rapidity which at times resulted in inaccuracy, he made elaborate and detailed sketches for every one of his etchings. It is in this work that we see Goya most truly himself. The needle became his chosen weapon, and he appears to have lingered with unusual content over every separate work. Yet, Goya's method still remained distinctly his own, and he refused to be guided by any conventional maxims. He was greatly attracted by the use of aquatint, aided with aquafortis. In many of his early

[1] He had already made a few unimportant etchings, in addition to a series of detailed plates, after many of the pictures of Velazquez.

[2] It is impossible to estimate whether Charles acted in ignorance of the fact that both himself and Doña Luisa were satirised in the etchings. One feels that the Bourbon monarch was either very dense, or he exhibited a magnanimity of which his character gives no promise. That Goya should have retained his friendship, in spite of the royal portraits, and his many caricatures of royalty, must remain a mystery.

etchings the lines are reduced to a few scratches of the needle. "In nature," he was wont to say, "exists no colour and no lines, nothing but light and shadows." Goya's aim was to show the effect light was able to produce. Perhaps, no one has ever used aquatinting[1] with greater power, a splash of dark, a spot left uncoloured, a few decisive strokes, and Goya gives us a picture. Every scene is full of depth and light, and a rare suggestiveness.

It is easy to speak of the technique of these etchings, but to describe their power is impossible. Critics have busied themselves with their classification, and laboured to provide elaborate meanings for every sketch. They have apportioned the "Caprichos" into three distinct classes. The first, it is said, are humorous skits, mirroring the corruptness and foolishness of the popular life of Madrid; the second satirise the religious and civic institutions of the time—the priest is represented as a donkey braying with senseless noise, the State is shown as a masked man, with an enormous sword which is too big for him to wield; while the last are pure fantasias, monstrous visions of witches, and demon cities. But it is not from such analysis that any realisation of the work can be obtained. In truth, it matters nothing what particular meaning attaches to each individual plate. We care not against what personality or what institution the painter's mordant derision was directed. Nay, the essential power of Goya rests in the fact that each gazer draws from his work a new meaning, measured only by the capacity of his own comprehension. We catch a reflection of things that are unknown. In the lines traced with his needle upon the plate, in the subtle washes of his aquatinting, Goya shows

[1] The disadvantage of the use of aquatinting in etching arises from the fact that the washes do not bite the metal with the same force as lines made by the needle, therefore, the full value of the work is apt to be lost in all except the first proofs.

us not only what he has seen, but also what he has felt, and it is this rare combination of fantasy and humour with morality and truth, that weaves the whelming fascination of the "Caprichos." We gaze on the wanton beauty of women, and on mad scenes of voluptuous revelry. We see the unutterable hideousness of filthy age. In one sketch a form—half skeleton, half man—raises a stone slab, beneath which crouch shapes, scarcely human, with faces of dire significance, while below are written the words, "Y aun no se van." There are men with the forms of animals and birds, mocking visions of strange imagery; an owl preaches to a company of priests; a donkey is carried upon the backs of men; a monkey paints the portrait of a mule; an ass reads in a book or feels at a dead man's pulse. Again there are scenes of swirling motion, where figures fly through heavy air—swift gleams of horror. We are conscious of the wind as it buffets the companion figures of the tempest-blown women in the wondrous conception of the "Mala Noche." We shrink from the shuddering reality of "La Caza de Dientes," where a woman rifles the teeth from the mouth of a hanging man. How is it possible with phrase to picture these scenes? Men, women, children, bats like vampires, birds, beasts, and shapes scarcely recognisable! Goya reveals what no one had seen before. Beneath these masks we catch the living breath of his imagination, and we read a fuller vision of life. Horror confronts us; corruptness is imaged with an unapproachable depth of grotesqueness. Yet once more we would impress the truth that Goya did not love horror, and, furthermore, he was not devoid of hope. In a rare issue of the "Caprichos," given by the painter to his friend Cean Bermudez, are two prints not found in the other collections of the etchings.[1] One shows a mighty monster spewing from its mouth a concourse of

[1] M. Lefort discovered the plates for these etchings, and had them printed in Paris.

SCENE OF THE "DOS DE MAYO."

BY GOYA.

human forms. In the second a woman, strong and supple, points to the brightness of the dawning sun for the comfort of a man, who sinks upon the earth bowed with age and labour. A child nestles in the woman's gown; a lamb lies resting at her feet. Flowers and little children fall from the sky, which glows with the radiance of increasing light. Surely this plate may be termed the evangel of the painter?

Goya's marvellous rapidity of workmanship enabled him to reproduce an almost countless amount of work. He completed two series of etchings during the first years of the nineteenth century. The thirty-three plates of "The Tauromachia" are of brilliant execution. They give a detailed history of Spanish bull-fighting, expressed with spirited power and the utmost fidelity. In his later etchings Goya depended for his effects more upon his needle. His use of aquatint and aquafortis is less prominent, although he still delighted in this process for his mysterious shadows and subtle tones. In the second group of etchings, known as "Los Desastres de la Guerra,"[1] especially, the actual line has great beauty; every stroke has meaning, often an apparently formless scratch from the needle palpitates with life. These etchings were inspired by the horrors of the French invasion. The tragic drama of the scenes is the cry of a just soul against the iniquity of warfare. Women wronged, men made bestial through terror and want, stark corpses stripped and rifled, fire, famine and desolation—such are the scenes which Goya etched in bitterness. What he witnessed he recorded, and the searching truth of his work remains. Look upon his painting of the "Dos de Mayo," which hangs, with its companion war-scene, "Un Episodio de la Invasión Francesca," in the Royal Gallery of Madrid, if you wish to understand the horror that darkened Goya's

[1] In Spain the etchings are usually called "Las Miserias," or "Las Disgracias de la Guerra."

life. With unrelieved reality he portrays that "blood-bath" in which Murat murdered the upholders of Spanish liberty. The canvases are broadly painted, strong both in handling and conception, vivid moments of realised terror.

The record of the last years of Goya's life is quickly told. It was a period of national disaster. Charles IV. and his Queen were banished in 1808, and the hated Joseph Bonaparte ruled at the Court. Goya took the oath of allegiance; he even painted the usurper's portrait. As we said before, what did such things matter? National calamity was not altered by these trivialities. In 1814, after the War of Liberation,[1] Ferdinand the Desired, Prince of the Asturias, was called to the throne. Goya was received as a member of the new Court, and his defection from the Bourbon cause was condoned. "In our absence you have deserved exile, nay worse, you have inherited death; but you are a great artist, and we pardon everything," was the reported comment of Ferdinand.

This change brought little relief to the soreness of Goya's spirit. He had no love for the new monarch, whose weakness he quickly recognised. What hope was there from a king whose first act was to disorganise the constitution and recall the Inquisition, which had been suppressed by the Settlement of Cadiz? It was not for him to re-establish the prosperity of Spain.

For eight years Goya remained at Madrid as the *Pintor del Rey*. He completed many likenesses of his master; an equestrian portrait in the Académia de Bellas Artes, and the study in the Prado, of Ferdinand, fresh from riding, are candid realisations of the kingly character. They prove how completely the old painter retained his keenness of insight.

Probably it was during these years that Goya created

[1] In Spain the Peninsular War is called "La Guerra de Independéncia."

the plates for the etchings of "Los Proverbios,"[1] for "The Prisoners,"[2] and for several unconnected prints. In addition he made many drawings for a fresh set of Caprices: these, however, were for some reason never completed. Both "Los Proverbios" and "The Prisoners" are etched with rare skill; the work is broader, and has a certain quality not found in the earlier etchings. In the three prints of "The Prisoners" Goya delivers his final protest against injustice and inhumanity. They are scenes of misery, where men are unnecessarily tortured, shackled with weary chains. Beneath the prints Goya has written in pencil three epigrams, trenchant lessons of justice:—*La seguridad de un reo no exige tormento* (the safeguarding of a prisoner does not necessitate torture); *¿ Si el delinquente que muera presto?* (if he is guilty, then why not kill him at once?); *Tan barbara seguridad como el delito* (so much barbarity in the treatment equals the crime committed). These are the comments of Goya upon the misused power of governments.

The bitterness of Goya increased. He felt that he had no part in the life of Ferdinand's Court, his wife Josefa and many friends were dead, complete deafness clouded his intercourse with the outer world, while over all was the shadow of the increasing ruin that threatened the country he loved so tempestuously. A growing restlessness entered his spirit, and in 1822 he craved permission to retire to France upon the pretext of a quest for health. His last work before leaving Madrid was to paint the "Communion of San José Calansanz," for the Church of

[1] These etchings were not published during Goya's life. They are eighteen in number, and were first printed in 1850. Three more prints, which probably belong to the same series, were reproduced in *L'Art* in 1877. The finest plate of the series, possibly the finest Goya ever etched, is reproduced in Mr. W. Rothenstein's Monograph on Goya. It shows a figure caught up in the mouth of a horse and tossed in mid-air. The etching pulsates with motion.

[2] The original proofs were given to Cean Bermudez by the painter.

San Anton Abad, the finest and most impressive of his religious conceptions.[1] It is a work without satire, simple and direct in treatment, and with considerable dignity of conception.

Goya first went to Paris, where he was received with enthusiasm. In the work of the young French painters he saw the fruit of that modern expression which he had done so much to call into being. Still Goya's spirit was not attune with the gay brightness of the French capital. He desired to be nearer to his own people, and he returned to Bordeaux, where he lived with a loyal friend, Madame Weiss, among a small clan of Spanish exiles. Harassed by his deafness, conscious of increasing age and failing eyesight, Goya spent his days in gloom, brightened only in fitful gleams by the service of his friends. Yet, in spite of deepening despondency, the vigorous fire of the veteran worker was unimpaired. His old passion for creation remained, and these years of growing silence yielded an abundant outgrowth. A group of portraits were painted. Many retained the old vitality, although failing eyesight in some cases resulted in crude and heavy colouring. The "Obras Sueltas" and other plates were etched,[2] while several small paintings, of exquisite intention, were produced upon ivory.[2] Above all, this was the period which gave birth to the engravings of the "Taureaux de Bordeaux," probably the finest of his manifold works.

[1] It is recorded that the fathers of the Church objected to the sum Goya asked for the work. In disgust, Goya refused to complete the picture, and was only induced to do so upon the earnest prayers of the chief father, who, it is said, knelt in supplication at his feet.

[2] These plates are in the collection of Mr. Lumley. They are four in number. Two are prints of Majas, one shows a man swinging a woman, and the last is an etching of a bull-fighter with a dog lying upon the ground beside him.

[3] One of these drawings upon ivory, a wondrously suggestive sketch of a monk and a witch, belongs to Mr. W. Rothenstein, and is reproduced in his work upon the painter.

Nothing illumines for us so clearly the virility of Goya as the fact that he had already passed the allotted span of life when he first practised the art of engraving upon stone. His earliest lithograph of a woman spinning bears the date *Febrero*, 1819.[1] Yet, in this new art, we find no slackening in power, the large and masterly treatment that marked the finest etchings is still visible, indeed, it is not possible to over-estimate the ability of the "Taureaux de Bordeaux." The swirl of movement, the vivid life, the colour, the whole palpitating scene of the *corrida* is pictured with perfect reality. Never before or since has the lithographer's stone transferred such drawings. They are the masterly culmination of Goya's life.

A yearning for Spain arose in the painter's heart, and in 1827 he returned to Madrid. All respect was shown to him at the Court, and by Ferdinand's express desire his portrait was painted by Vicente López.[2]

A characteristic incident connected with this picture must not be omitted. It is the lingering glimpse of the painter's restless humour. After the second sitting Goya bore the canvas away from the studio of López. He assured the painter, with candid impatience, he would only spoil the likeness if he worked upon it longer with "his niggling brush."

But these gleams of brightness were of infrequent occurrence. After a few months of restless unhappiness spent in the Spanish capital, Goya returned to Bordeaux. For another year he lived in darkness; then, on 16th March 1828, the strong, sad life found rest.

[1] A copy of this work may be seen in the Print Room of the British Museum, where there are several of Goya's lithographs, though unfortunately no specimens of the "Taureaux de Bordeaux." The most interesting is the print known as "Escena de Diablura," a drawing of a man surrounded by devils. A fine reproduction of this work is given in Mr. Rothenstein's book.

[2] The portrait is now in the Prado. An excellent description of it is given by Gautier in his *Wanderings in Spain.*

Casting a glance backward over Goya's accomplishment, we find that the dominant motive of his work was an eagerness to seize life. He had broken through the academic tradition of imitation and classical convention by the dynamic force of his personality. We have seen how completely he realised the significance of existence—its gaiety, its pathos, and also its hideousness. Goya expanded a fresh medium of expression by his use of stone and needle. He did more than this—he framed a new world of suggestion—a world that mirrored, not alone the actual around him, but one which brought the realms of fancy within the region of the real. His witches have personality, his demon visions have the power of existing scenes. The complexity of Goya's work, added to the fact we have already noted, of that civic, religious, and artistic rottenness which compelled him to clothe his truth in satire, renders it difficult fully to appraise his genius. His art will not appeal to the lover of the commonplace. His accomplishment was not always of equal merit, indeed it was essential to his personality that defects should at times arise in his work. Yet his message was never meaningless, and the spell of his art and of his life is potent to-day.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE PRESENT CONDITION OF SPANISH PAINTING—THE NINETEENTH AND TWENTIETH CENTURIES.

THERE is little more to add to the record of Spanish painting. When Goya died, the national art suffered an eclipse more complete than the stagnation that succeeded the achievement of Velazquez. For a period, individual light was obstructed, and all effort was lost in shoals of academic incapacity. El Greco, Velazquez, and Goya, the great Spanish innovators, belong essentially to the modern world, and in each case their inspiration over-reached their own epoch and their own country. Yet while Velazquez was misinterpreted by his contemporaries, Goya was ignored. The net-resultant was the same, although the immediate outgrowth was different. The grotesque element in Goya's art, to a large extent, exempted him from the bane of being imitated; but for this very reason he exercised less influence than Velazquez upon his immediate followers. No crowd of copyists strove to reproduce his manner, for it is more difficult to duplicate an infinity of surprises than to counterfeit the simplicity of complete artistic realisation. It was possible to emulate Velazquez, Goya could only be caricatured. He was a great exception, an isolated figure amid a century of incompetence. Owing to the essential modification of his genius, neither his strong virility nor his intense national bias stemmed, even transiently, the forces of artistic exhaustion. Added to this personal reason was the still deeper gloom which at this time darkened Spain.

It is needless to detail the national history. Revolution succeeded revolution. It was a period destructive to all creative effort.

Upon Goya's death, in 1828, José de Madrazo was appointed dictator of the arts, and under the sway of this "Spanish David" a degraded classicism became the ideal of the Spanish painters. His pictures of stuffed lay-figures, with their arranged attitudes, can only arouse merriment. They are the very antithesis of the natural Spanish ideal.

In portraiture alone was there any accomplishment worthy of being remembered. Vicente López, his son Bernardo, and Federigo de Madrazo all retained in some slight degree the national gift for personal delineation. The portrait of Goya, by Vicente López, Bernardo's picture of Queen Doña Maria Isabel de Braganza,[1] and a study by Madrazo, of General San Miguel,[2] are works that claim attention in this epoch of barrenness.

As a reaction against the classical convention, the romantic movement was re-echoed from the French school in the early years of the century. In Spain the new impulse gave birth to a band of industrious but ineffectual workers—painters who essayed to be Spanish, by laborious reconstruction of historic scenes, and by elaboration of local detail. They forgot the spirit of the old masters, and in pursuing a false patriotism, they lost their personal reality. Their pictures masquerade in mock garments, cut in the Spanish mode, but they are untouched by the rugged national traits. They are Spanish scenes, they are never Spain.

The leader of these pseudo-naturalists was Francisco Pradilla. His compositions are dull pageants of costume parades; they pre-figure the worthlessness of elaboration

[1] In the Prado.

[2] In the Museo de Arte Moderno, at Madrid.

without life. The scene of "Jeanne la Folle,"[1] that pictures the sorrow-demented daughter of Ferdinand and Isabel, and still more the historic spectacle where King Bobadil surrenders the keys of Granada to the Catholic sovereigns, abound with merits, and yet the pictures are without interest. Each distinctive figure crowding the wide space of canvas is good, but the whole effect is dead.

It would be superfluous to particularise the many painters led astray by this alien-naturalism. Most of these workers were trained in Rome, and it is difficult to account them Spanish artists, so little do they reflect the radical genius of their nation. The same faults may be detected in their pictures. José Casado, Lorenzo Valles, Luigi Alvarez, and the over-estimated José Benlliure, there is little divergence in their accomplishment. In all their work there is the same triviality of detail, the same exaggeration of workmanship, the same loss of idea. Even the pictures of José de Villegas, though clever and rich in colour, have no individual vitality.

A few painters resisted both the classical and the romantic impulse, and glimmerings of rugged realism meet us in certain pictures of the period. Rosales,[2] an artist little known, yet very national, maintains in his pictures the robust directness of his race. Again, the

[1] The picture is now in the Museo de Arte Moderno. This canvas, with many other works by Pradilla, was shown at the Exhibition of the Spanish Pictures, at the Guildhall, in 1901. In the same collection were three small sketches—"Scenes in a Roman Carnival." These studies are almost exempt from the faults of Pradilla's large compositions. The canvases are full of glowing colour, and the paint is laid on with a free brush.

[2] The Museo de Arte Moderno has two pictures by Rosales, "Isabella Catolica Dictating her Will" and "The Death of Lucretia." Rosales lived chiefly at Rome, where he gained the friendship and admiration of Fortuny.

Càtalan painter, Galofré,[1] held true to his personal interpretation of nature. His finest picture is a presentment of a "Fiesta in a Spanish Village," a local scene painted with great strength. Speaking upon his art, Galofré writes: "I have no taste for the historical subjects, which influence my countrymen. I only like to render what I have seen. Realism, in my opinion, is the foundation of art."

These words are pregnant with suggestion. They echo the impelling spirit of Spanish painting.

Both these painters died when still in their early manhood, and their work was little noticed. They spoke in a language that was meaningless to their century. Neither of them had genius, and they were powerless to stem the on-rushing of the existing impulse.

It was the misfortune of Mariano Fortuny that he lived during this period of un-national accomplishment. His genius exempted him from the lifeless failure of his contemporaries, but he did not escape the influence that impelled his century, and his style is not free from French mannerism. He selected his subjects for an interesting pose, for a graceful or amusing incident, more than for their dramatic reality. Rare stuffs and *bric-à-brac* delighted him, and he was seldom attracted by more intense realisations of life. Thus, with all their power, his pictures are not intrinsically Spanish. They have many dominant Spanish traits. Their glowing harmonies of colour, their love of intimate scenes, their power of personal characterisation, in all these ways Fortuny's canvases bespeak their origin, but they miss the direct and dramatic perception of Spain—that epical power of presenting an overwhelming moment. In a word, they do not breathe the inherent racial note. Yet the achieve-

[1] Galofré was born at Reus, in the province of Tarragona in 1847. He worked in Catalonia until 1870, when he went to Madrid. Three years later he was sent to Rome. He died in 1877.

ment of Fortuny was great, and his pictures show how much that is both original and excellent may occasionally arise in a time of alien development.

The thirty-six years of Fortuny's life were all years of work. From his earliest boyhood his one desire was to paint, and his first picture was sold in his native town of Reus when he was only twelve.[1] The ardent student strove by every conceivable means to gain dexterity, and unnumbered books were filled with his daily sketches. In 1852 Mariano went to Barcelona, in order to enter the Académia de Bellas Artes. He worked earnestly in the studios, he copied the pictures of Antonio Viladomat,[2] while every free hour was spent wandering among the by-ways of the city in search of new subjects to draw.

Throughout these years Fortuny's achievement was tentative, and his 'prentice pictures have little promise of the free touch and delicate colouring that were afterwards his distinctive gifts. A historic scene of "Raymond III. fastening the Arms of Barcelona upon the City Walls" was painted for the Académia in 1857. The picture gained the Prix de Rome, and Fortuny left Spain for the Italian city, where, from henceforth, he made his home. It was not, however, in Italy that the young painter awakened to the full knowledge of his power. Upon the battle-fields of Morocco he first realised the beauty that rests in the glimmering sheen of many colours.[3] It was there he first learned to weave those interlacing tints which give to his work the character of a delicate mosaic. "Fortuny left Rome a student; he came back an artist," was the

[1] Fortuney was born in 1838.

[2] See p. 247.

[3] War was declared between Spain and Morocco in 1859. Fortuny joined the first campaign in 1860. He returned with many sketches, and in 1862 the Council of Barcelona again sent him to Africa, to prepare the sketches for the picture of the "Battle of Tetuan."

comment of his friend Vertunni, the Italian landscape-painter.

The immediate outcome of this increased power was the creation of Fortuny's master-scene of the fight at Tetuan. The great unfinished battle-piece,[1] now in the Casa de la Deputación of Barcelona, and perhaps still more, the study for the same picture in the Museo de Arte Moderno, at Madrid, witness how dramatically he imagined the African campaign. The smoke, the dust, the heat of the fight are indicated—the very atmosphere is given, the exact colour of Morocco is reproduced. Fortuny delighted in the sun, and he bathes his canvases in floods of light. In addition, these scenes of actual fight show how true his instinct was for composition. He never forgot the inter-relation of his figure-groups: he always gave the harmony of unsuspected order to the chaos of the fight.

There is a picture in the Madrid Museo of the Queen Regent, with Doña Isabel, the girl Sovereign, exhorting the Spanish troops to withstand the onslaught of the Carlists. The scene is admirably composed, yet it is without conscious effort. It has all the effective impression of a natural presentment. The whole situation is comprehended in the first glance upon the canvas. As a scenic battle-picture the work is almost perfect.

It is necessary to remember that circumstances rather than personal choice directed Fortuny's expression. His battle-pieces were the outcome of that spurious nineteenth-century impulse we have noted, which strove to render Spanish art national by painting historic scenes. In Rome, Fortuny lived in the midst of the circle of Spanish painters. Villegas, Casado, Valles, Rosales, and Alvarez were his friends, and, however unconsciously, he was influenced by their ideals.

[1] The canvas was never finished, owing to a misunderstanding with the Councillors of Barcelona, who objected to the time spent in completing the work.

The Queen Regent and Isabel II. inspiring the Spanish Troops in the First Carlist War.

by Mariano Fortuny.

In common with many of the Spanish painters, Fortuny was strongly attracted by the picturesque minutiæ of daily scenes. Splendent fabrics, weapons, rare china, trinkets, a rich medley of trifles—all appealed to his fancy; and many of his best-known works are fashionable incidents rendered in pure *genre*.

In its essence this tendency was fundamentally a Spanish trait, arising from the passionate self-consciousness inherent in the race. But Fortuny's residence in Rome, the influence of a French visit, in 1869, when his love of *genre* was quickened by the work of Gavarni, and, more than all, the want of a true national atmosphere, directed this inborn inclination into channels that were un-Spanish. Many of his *genre* pictures are French, both in their inspiration and in their mode of handling. "The Vase of China," "The Bibliophilists," and the two more important compositions of "The Choice of a Model by the Academicians of St. Luke," and "The Rehearsal in a Garden," at once suggest themselves as examples. The pictures have a *dilettante* exquisiteness which has no kinship with the acute vigour of Spain. An elegant grace is their regnant characteristic. They are Spanish only in their Oriental colouring. Many Moorish pieces owe their inspiration to a sojourn in Southern Spain during 1870 and 1871. For these years Fortuny dwelt in Seville and Granada, painting continually local scenes and local types; but many of these pictures are native scenes dressed in foreign garments. Often the rare textures and Arabic mosaics are painted with French daintiness. The exquisite minuteness, which enchants in the handling, is far removed from the emphatic, almost brutal detail, of the Spanish painters.

Even the "Spanish Marriage"[1] is not a national

[1] This master-creation of Fortuny's was exhibited at the Guildhall, in 1901. An excellent reproduction of the picture is given in the first issue of *The Ideal*. (See p. 244.)

picture; and this is true, in spite of the fact that the scene was suggested by Fortuny's own marriage, and was planned during his visit to Madrid in 1867, when he was fresh from the inspiration of Velazquez, Goya, and Ribera, three masters whose works he sedulously copied. The bride, Fortuny's own wife, Cecilia de Madrazo;[1] her sister, the Señorita Isabel, and her mother are Spanish types; while the husband, a middle-aged *eleganté*, and his friend are French conceptions. Both groups of figures are arrayed in the ultra fashions of the day. It is a Spanish picture translated by the French ideal. A kind of glittering elegance luminates the canvas. Looking upon the work one is tempted to ask: Has anything so daintily rich been wrought by modern effort? The detail required extreme sensitiveness and lightness of touch, and Fortuny made use of every conceivable means to enforce this amplitude of ornament, and yet maintain a balance of concords.

Any attempt to describe the scene would be useless. We can speak of the striking depicture of the faces, and comment upon the extraordinary lustre of the brocades, on the cool, grey light of the Sacristía, and on the lucent tints of the women's dresses. We can relate the story conjured by the characters—a young beauty yielded to an old lover for gain. But such descriptions do not unveil the gleaming wealth which enchains the vision in this mosaic of colour. If we think of Fortuny's accomplishment alone, this picture is probably his greatest creation. It is the great master-work of the French-trained Spanish painters. If, on the other hand, we consider the historical aspect of the work in the evolution of Spanish painting, its significance is small. For this reason there is fuller meaning in Fortuny's sketches and slighter pictures. Many of these were studies for larger compositions, canvases in which the painter was more intimately

[1] The daughter of Federigo de Madrazo.

himself, and unconsciously expressed his Spanish character.

Pre-eminent among this personal work is the head of a "Negro of Morocco,"[1] painted in 1861, as the study for a figure in the "Battle of Tetuan." It is a canvas of astonishing vigour, Spanish in its directness and unsurpassed reality. A strong portrait sketch of a Spaniard, "Don José Tapiro Circassien," is an equally dramatic study. The subject is less remarkable, but the same energy directs the handling. It is easy to multiply examples of these simpler and stronger utterances of the painter. The picture known as a "Morisco Fantasia" seems to echo the influence of Goya. A small early canvas of an "Arab shoeing a Mule" is a Spanish conception. A fine study of an "Italian Peasant," a pen-drawing of a "Mendiga with her Child," and many battle sketches and early etchings, such as the "Morisco Family" and the "Group of Arabs seated before a door," all reflect the poignancy of Spanish painting.

Fortuny was an unwearied and impassioned worker. His entire life was consecrated to his art, and one is filled with wonderment at the multitude of his accomplishments. In addition to his numerous historical and *genre* pieces, he frequently worked at landscape. Many of his nature-studies are gems of sunlight and atmosphere. He painted with exquisite ability in water-colour; he used the etcher's needle, and gained strong effects with aquafortis in many plates of fine merit. All day Fortuny painted; often he worked far into the night, etching figures upon copper-plates, or engraving pieces of metal. On November 21st, 1874, the strenuous life ended suddenly. In seven days a malefic fever killed the young painter.

Had Fortuny lived, it is possible, nay probable, that

[1] This picture was shown at the Guildhall Exhibition in 1901. There is a colour reproduction of the work in the first number of *The Ideal.* (See p. 244).

the strength of his temperament would have triumphed, and his work would have become more Spanish. The lethargy which had clouded the life of Spain for nearly two hundred years was breaking. In literature, in the civic life, in the inward thoughts of her people a new intention was vibrating. It is difficult to estimate the true significance of events until they are separated from us by the span of years; but abundant signs are present that Spain was re-awakening in the fading years of the nineteenth century. To this impulse Fortuny's genius would have answered. We have noted that he was most Spanish when he was most natural. His French inclination was an outer garment of fashion. Fortuny was great in spite of the existing manner, and not because of it.

It is one of the salient truths in the history of Spanish art that her natural traits are never suppressed; they are only clouded. Again and again we have seen her painters following a foreign manner; for the dramatic element in the Spanish character answers in quick response to every extraneous influence. But the force that underlies this epical perception is too cogent to be extinguished. During this era of racial apathy the native artistic traits were only sleeping, rocked in a cradle of French influence.

To-day the new spirit of life is affording a fuller harvest. The old power of Spain is reviving. The throes of birth still constrain her, but slowly her citizens are discovering the import of national life. This spirit brooding in the land is manifest in her art. There are traces of the old vigorous temper, and her painters are now national because they are true to their own individuality. We have spoken many times of the Spanish power of seizing and picturing dramatic moments. It is this instinctive, this deeply implanted gift, that marks the work of the young artists who are now renewing the activity of their country's art.

It is no part of the purpose of this record to enumerate this band of workers. For us all interest centres in the new-born Spanish personality that is arising through their efforts. It is not possible at this period to estimate the strength and power of their achievement; but certain signs are present which point to the re-awakening of the indelible Spanish traits—those characteristics of dramatic strength, direct handling, and true colour that have always been her special heritage.

The fugleman of this band of modern naturalists is Ignacio Zuloago,[1] a young painter who was born in 1870, at Eibar, a small town in the Basque province of Vizcaya. It is a fact worth recalling that Zuloago has studied alone. He belongs to a family of artists, skilled craftsmen, who have given new birth to the applied arts of Spain. Passionately national, life in his own town furnished the young Basque painter with inexhaustible and living material. The dramatic humanity of his native land attracted him, and from the beginning of his career he painted the subjects he saw around him. Herein is the secret of Zuloago's dominant individuality. The Spanish interpretation of nature is essentially personal. By no nation has the necessity for individual insight been more unerringly, though perhaps unconsciously, grasped. As we have witnessed through the record of her art, Spanish painting is the direct outgrowth of the Spanish character. Only by personal development have her painters compassed truth. When this verity has been unheeded, they have wandered through the by-paths of imitation into affectation and debasement. The inner essence and strength of Zuloago's pictures is their return to Nature—the robust, passionate, dramatic Nature of Spain.

[1] For the facts of Señor Zuloago's life I am indebted to the article by M. Henri Frantz, in the August issue of *The Studio*, 1903.

It is the intensity of this realisation that gives to Zuloago's pictures their power of recalling the creations of the great realists. Often a figure flashes upon us from the canvas with a memory of Velazquez or of Goya. As we look upon his pictures we are reminded of Zurbarán, of Ribera, of El Greco, in fact, of all the strong painters of Spain. Contrast the faces of the men in "Un Mot Piquant"[1] with the topers in "Los Borrachos." The same strong nationality has directed the painting of the figures. They are Andalusian types presented with Spanish truthfulness. Instance after instance of this racial affinity might be given. Zuloago's portraits, his intimate and vivid scenes, his landscape backgrounds, his dog studies, could only have been painted by a Spanish realist. Again we see the national types presented with the old incisive energy. It is not that Zuloago has imitated the old masters, for his pictures are pre-eminently his own interpretation of recent Spanish life; rather they exhibit that national note which indelibly stamps all true Spanish pictures, linking them in one chain that runs unbroken through the centuries.

Any detailed criticism of Zuloago's work would here be superfluous. He rests at the threshold of achievement, and surprise at his unexpected dexterity is still too strong to favour calm appraisement. He has broken the trammels of the French following, and revivified national expression. It is perhaps not wholly fanciful to say that his utterance bears the same relation to modern Spanish painting, that the revival of Herrera *el Viego* did to the

[1] This picture and a companion study "Gitane et Andalouse" were exhibited at the International Collection of Works of Art, 1904. They are the first works of the painter that have been seen in England. Both canvases, with a larger and more important composition, "Preparatifs pour la course de taureaux," were shown in 1903 at the Salon of the Société de Beaux Arts, in Paris.

Un Mot Piquant.

Italian mannerism of the sixteenth century. Zuloago is the *avant-coureur* of the new national realists. In some measure his paintings show the ensign of pioneer creation, with its almost necessary tendency to over-emphasise strength. Accomplished, dramatic, and national, Zuloago's work is to-day. It may be that as time advances his art will gain in depth, and a fuller meaning will be added to his brilliant and realistic scenes—that personal, living message, which breathes in the work of the masters whose memory he revives.

Each year the vitality of Spanish art grows stronger; and, whatever the present Spanish painters may lack, at any rate, they have felt the drama of their country.

Appendices.

I. A Brief Summary of the History of Spanish Painting.

II. Chronological List of the Spanish Painters, with Notes upon where their Pictures may best be studied.

III. Chronology of the Lives of the Chief Painters of Spain.

IV. The Important Spanish Pictures in the Museo del Prado, the Museo de Arte Moderno, and the Académia de Bellas Artes, at Madrid; in the Escorial; and in the Provincial Museos, Cathedrals, and Churches of Seville, Cadiz, Valencia, and Toledo.

V. Spanish Pictures in the Public Galleries in London.

VI. Important Spanish Pictures in the Principal Continental Galleries.

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Appendix I.

A Brief Summary of the History of Spanish Painting.

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The Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries.

The Italian Influence slowly overpowers the Flemish.—The artistic policy of Charles V. and Philip II., see pp. 51, 52. The building of the Escorial, see p. 52. Influx of Italian mannerists, see pp. 52-55. The effect of the Italian ideal upon the Spanish painters, see pp. 55-60. Italianised Spanish painters—Alonso Berruguete, Gaspar Becerra, and others, see pp. 61-67. The painters who retained their national expression, although influenced by Italian mannerism—Luis de Morales, in Castile; Pedro Compaña, Luis de Vargas, Pablo de Céspedes, in Andalusia; and Juan de Juanes, in Valencia; see pp. 67-87. The Venetian influence upon Spanish art, see pp. 89, 90. Titian's connection with Spain, see pp. 51, 90. Spanish masters influenced by the Venetian ideal—Fernandez Navarrete, in Castile; Juan de las Roelas, in Andalusia; see pp. 90-101. **The genius**

of Toledo—Domenico Theotocópuli, El Greco, see pp. 102-114. The first portrait-painters of the Court—Alonso Sanchez Coello, Pantoja de la Cruz, and others, see pp. 115-128. The later mannerists—Francisco Pacheco, Juan del Castillo, Herrera *el Mozo*, in Andalusia; Collantes, Eugenio Caxes, Fray Sanchez Cotan, and others, in Castile; see pp. 131-140. The eclectics—Juan de Valdés Leal, Alonso Cano, see pp. 140-150.

The National Manner triumphs over Italianism.—The great epoch of Spanish painting, see pp. 129, 130, 151-153. The pioneer Spanish realists—Herrera *el Viego*, Juan de Sevilla, Bocanegra, Antonio de Castillo y Saavedra, and others in Andalusia; Luis Tristan, Juan Bautista Mayno, and others, in Castile; Francisco Ribalta, Juan de Ribalta, Espinosa, Pedro Orrente, Esteban March, in Valencia; see pp. 153-172. **The exponent of Spanish religious realism, Francisco de Zurbarán,** see pp. 173-184. **The Italianised Spaniard—Jusepe de Ribera,** *lo Spagnoletto*, see pp. 185-200. **The great religious painter of Spain, Bartolomé Esteban Murillo,** see pp. 201-225. **The great Court-painter of Spain, Diego Velazquez,** see pp. 226-257. The immediate survivors and successors of the Spanish realists—Juan del Mazo, Juan Pareja, Juan Carreño de Miranda, Mateo Cerezo, Sebastián Muñoz, Claudio Coello, Antonio Pereda, Fray Juan Rizi, and others, in Castile; Sebastián de Llanos y Valdés, Ignacio Iriarte, Sebastián Gómez, Miguel de Tobar, Meneses Osorio, Pedro Nuñez de Villavicencio, Francisco Antolinz, and others, in Andalusia, see pp. 253-266 and 267-270. The influence of the Italian, Luca Cambiaso, see pp. 264-266. The degradation of the national art: Personality lost in imitation, see pp. 252, 266, 270.

The Eighteenth Century.

French Influence.—The Bourbon monarchs, see pp. 271, 272. Continued degradation of the national art, see pp. 271, 272. The influence of the Italian Tiepolo, and of the Saxon Raphael Mengs, see pp. 272, 273. The complete eclipse of the Spanish national traits, in the art of Castile, Andalusia, and Valencia, see p. 273. Aragon the last home of Spanish art—Antonio Viladomat, Josef Luján Martinez, see pp. 274, 275. **The genius of satire, Francisco Goya,** see pp. 275-298.

The Nineteenth Century.

French Influence intermingled with Italian.—Contemporary Spanish school—Francisco Pradilla, José Benlliure, Rosales, Villegas, and others, see pp. 300, 301. The historic sentiment of pseudo-realism, see p. 300. **The genius of the French period, Mariano Fortuny,** see pp. 302-308.

The Modern Realists.—Ignacio Zuloago, see pp. 309-311.

Appendix II.

Chronological List of the Spanish Painters, with Notes upon where their Pictures may best be studied.[1]

Illuminators.

Name.	Date.	Page.	Works.
Sarracinus, Garcia, Vigila, three 10th century illuminators	—	14	Escorial and the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid.
Facundus, Hispano-Arabesque illuminator	11th century	16	Biblioteca Nacional.
Pedro de Pamplona, the illuminator of Alfonso the Wise	13th century	16	Biblioteca Columbina, Seville Cathedral.
Early Painters.			
Petrus de Hispañia, Rodrigo Estéban, Ramon Torrente, Guillen Tort, Gonzala Diaz, Juan Césilles	13th and 14th centuries	20	No works remain.

[1] These Notes are not intended as a complete list of the collections of Spanish paintings. I have written them to suggest the places where the pictures of the Spanish painters may best be studied. They are founded upon the text, and refer principally to the pictures there noticed. In many instances I have found it difficult, and in a few cases impossible, to trace the present ownership of certain pictures, and especially has this been so in the case of the early painters.

Name.	Date.	Page.	Works.
Gheràrdo Starnina and Dello, two Italian painters, who worked in Spain late in the 14th and early in the 15th centuries	—	23	No works remain.
Juan Alfon	Early 15th century	24	Toledo Cathedral.
[1] El Hijo de Maestro Rodriguez (the Son of Master Rodrigo)	Second half of the 15th centuries	353	Victoria and Albert Museum, South Kensington.
Spanish Gothic Painters.			
Juan Sanchez de Castro	1454-1516	30-31	Seville Cathedral and the Church of San Julian in the same city.
Pedro Sanchez	Early 15th century	32	Collection of Don López Cepero at Seville.
Juan Nuñez	15th century	33	Seville Cathedral.
Alejo Fernandez	Early 16th century	34-35	Seville Cathedral and the Church of Santa Ana at Triana, a suburb of the city.
Pedro de Córdoba	15th century	36	The Mezquita of Córdova and collection of Don López Cepero.
Fernando Gallegos	1475-1550	36-38	The Cathedrals of Salamanca and Zamora, and the Museo del Prado.
Luis de Dalmau	15th century	39-40	The City Hall of Barcelona.
The Introducers of the Italian Manner in Spanish Painting.			
Antonio Rincon	15th century.	41-42	The Church of Robleda de Chevla, near the Escorial. Copies of his royal portraits are treasured at Madrid.
Juan de Borgoña	Died early in the 16th century	43-45	The Cathedrals of Toledo and Avila, and the Museo del Prado.
Pedro Berruguete	15th century; d. 1500 (?)	45-46	The Cathedral and the Church of Santo Tomás at Avila, and the Museo del Prado.

[1] Probably a son of the sculptor Rodriguez, who, in 1495, carved the lower choir-stalls in the Cathedral of Toledo with representations of the Conquest of Granada. For note upon the picture, *see* Appendix V., p. 353.

Appendix II.

The Painters who strengthened the Italian Ideal.

Alonso Berruguete	1480-1561	61-64	The cathedrals and many of the churches in Toledo, Valladolid, Palencia, and Valencia.
Gaspar Becerra	1520-70	64-65	The Museo del Prado.
Hernando Yañez	16th century	65	Cathedral of Cuenca.
Diego Correa	16th century	65	Museo del Prado.
Juan de Villoldo	16th century	66	Church of San Andrés, Madrid.
Luis de Carbajal	B. 1534	66	Toledo, the Museo del Prado, and the Escorial.
Blas del Prado	16th century	66-67	Toledo, the Museo del Prado, and Académia de Bellas Artes at Madrid.
Pablo de San Leocadio	16th century	82-83	Gandía, a small town in Valencia.

Hispano-Italian Painters who retained the Strength of the National Traits, although mingled with the Italian Manner.

Luis Morales (*see* Appendix III.)	1509-86	67-70	Arroya del Puerco, a small town in Estremadura, the Cathedral and Churches of Badajoz, the Museo del Prado. The National Gallery, the Louvre, and many of the Continental galleries contain one picture by Morales. None are of special importance.
Pedro Campaña, a Flemish painter, who worked in Seville, and adopted the national manner	1503-80	72-74	Seville Cathedral, collection of Don López Cepero, and the National Gallery.
Luis de Vargas	1502-68	74-77	Seville Cathedral and the collection of Don López Cepero.
Francisco Frutet	Birth and death unknown; was living in Seville in 1548	78	Seville Museo.
Hernando Sturmio	16th century	78	Seville Cathedral.
Pedro Villegas Marmolejo	1520-97	79	Seville Cathedral and Museo.
Pablo de Céspedes	1538-1608	79-81	The Mezquita of Córdova, the Cathedral and Museo of Seville, and the collection of Don López Cepero.

Name.	Date.	Page.	Works.
Vicente Juan Macip, known as Juan de Juanes (*see* Appendix III.)	Date of birth uncertain, either between 1505 and 1507, or 1523; d. 1579	83-87	The Cathedral, Churches, and Museo of Valencia, the Museo del Prado. Several of the Continental galleries have unimportant pictures by Juanes. There is no work by him in the public collections of England.

Spanish Painters influenced by Titian and the Venetian School.

Name.	Date.	Page.	Works.
Juan Fernandez Navarrete, *El Mundo* (*see* Appendix III.)	1526-79	90-96	The Escorial, the Museo del Prado, and the Hermitage, St. Petersburg. El Mundo is not represented in the English galleries.
Juan de las Roelas (*see* Appendix III.)	1560 (?)-1625	96-101	The Cathedral, the Churches, the University, the Hospital de la Sangre, and the Museo of Seville. One picture in the Museo del Prado, in the Hermitage, and in the Dresden Gallery. Roelas is not represented in the English galleries.
Francisco Varela	16th century	101	Seville Museo and the University Church.
Domenico Theotocópuli El Greco (*see* Appendix III.)	1548-1614	102-114	El Greco can only be adequately studied at Toledo. His pictures are in the Cathedral, the Churches, and the Provincial Museo. There are works by him in the Museo del Prado, the Escorial, the Cathedral and Museo of Seville, the Cathedral of Valencia, and many private collections. The National Gallery has two of his pictures; the Louvre has recently bought one important work. One of his portraits is in the Hermitage, and one is in the Picture Gallery of Vienna.

Appendix II.

The First Court Portrait-Painters.			
Alonso Sanchez Coello	B. early in the 16th century; d. 1590	121-5	Museo del Prado. The Hermitage, and the Picture Gallery, Vienna, each have a portrait by Sanchez Coello.
Pantoja de la Cruz	1551-1610?	125-6	Museo del Prado and the Escorial.
The Later Italian Mannerists.			
Francisco Pacheco	1571-1654	131-4	The Cathedral, Churches, and Museo of Seville, and the Museo del Prado.
Juan del Castillo	1584-1640	134	The Churches and Museo of Seville, and the collection of Don López Cepero.
Herrera *el Mozo*	1622-85	135-6	The Cathedral and Museo of Seville, and the Museo del Prado. There is one picture by Herrera *el Mozo* in the National Gallery.
Transition Painters.			
Francisco Collantes	1599-1656	137-8	Museo del Prado.
Eugenio Caxes	1577-1642	138	Museo del Prado.
Fray Sánchez Cotán	1561-1627	139	The Museo and Cartuja of Granada.
Pedro de Moya	1610-66	140	Collection of Don López Cepero at Seville; the Museo del Prado (there is some doubt about these pictures being the work of De Moya).
Juan de Valdés Leal	1630-91	140-3	The Cathedral, Churches, and Museo of Seville, the Hospital de la Caridad in the same city, the Museo del Prado. The National Gallery has one picture by Valdés Leal.
Alonso Cano (*see* Appendix III.)	1601-67	143-150	The Cathedrals of Seville, Granada, Malaga, and Toledo; many of the churches of Andalusia, and also the provincial museos, the Museo del Prado, and the Church of San Ginés at Madrid. Lebrija, a small town between Seville andTeréz, has a fine retablo carved and painted by Cano. The Hermitage, St. Petersburg, the Pinakothek, Munich, and the galleries

Name.	Date.	Page.	Works.
			of Dresden and Berlin have pictures by Cano. The Wallace Collection, Hertford House, has one of his works. There a fine "Assumption of the Virgin" in the collection of Sir Francis Cook at Richmond.
The Pioneer Naturalists.			
Herrera *el Viego* (*see* Appendix III.)	1576-1656	153-8	The Museo and the Church of San Bernardo in Seville; the Académia de Bellas Artes at Cadiz. The Louvre has one good picture by Herrera. There is a work of less importance in the Dresden Gallery. Herrera is unrepresented in the English galleries.
Fray Juan Bautista Mayno	1569-1649	158-9	The Museo del Prado.
Luis Tristan	1586-1640	159-160	Church at Yepes, a small place near Toledo; the Cathedral and Museo of Toledo and the Museo del Prado.
Fray Antanasio Bocanegra	D. 1688	161	Granada and the Museo del Prado.
Juan Escalante de Sevilla	1627-95	161	Cathedral and Museo of Granada, and Museo of Toledo.
Antonio del Castillo y Saavedra	1603-67	162	Museo del Prado and the collection of Don López Cepero.
Francisco de Ribalta	B. between 1550 and 1660; d. 1628	163-7	Cathedral, Churches, and Museo of Valencia, and the Museo del Prado. There is no picture by Ribalta in the English galleries.
Juan de Ribalta	1597-1628	167	Museo of Valencia and the Museo del Prado.
Jacinto Jerómino de Espinosa	1600-80	167-8	Museo of Valencia and the Museo del Prado.
Pedro Orrente	1570-1644	169-170	Museo of Valencia, the Museo del Prado, and the Académia de Bellas Artes at Madrid.
Esteban March	D. 1660	171-2	The Museo of Valencia and the Museo del Prado.
The Spanish Naturalists.			
Francisco de Zurbarán (*see* Appendix III.)	1598-1661	173-184	The Cathedral, Churches, and Museo of Seville, the

			Museo del Prado, the Académia de Bellas Artes at Madrid, the Cathedral of Guadaloupe, the Académia de Bellas Artes of Cadiz, and many pictures in private collections. The National Gallery has three good and representative pictures by Zurbarán. There are also good instances of his power in the Louvre, the Hermitage, the Royal Picture Gallery of Dresden, the Berlin Museum, and the Pinakothek, Munich.
Jusepe de Ribera ("lo Spagnoletto") (*see* Appendix III.)	1588-1656 (?)	185-200	Museo del Prado, and Académia de Bellas Artes at Madrid; the Museo and Churches of Valencia; the Convent of the Augustinas Recoletas at Salamanca; the Escorial; the Museos of Toledo and Córdova. Many private collections. The Jesuit Convents of St. Francis Xavier and Jesus Nuovo, the Churches of San Martino and Santa Maria Bianca, and the Cathedral of Naples. There is no important work by Ribera in England. Probably the best is the study of a locksmith at Dulwich Gallery. There are pictures by Ribera in the National Gallery and at Hampton Court; also in the Louvre, the Hermitage, the Pinakothek, and the galleries of Dresden, Berlin, and Vienna.
Bartolomé Esteban Murillo (*see* Appendix III.)	1617-82	201-225	The Museo, Cathedral, Churches, and Hospital de la Caridad, in Seville; the Académia de Bellas Artes, and the Capuchin Convent, at Cadiz; the Museo del Prado and the Académia de Bellas Artes at Madrid. Many private collections in Spain. Murillo is well represented in the National Gallery, the Wallace Collection at Hertford House, the Dulwich Gallery, and many private collections in London and the British Isles, as well as in all the Continental galleries. The collections in the Hermitage, St. Petersburg, the Pinakothek, and the Louvre are probably the most

Name.	Date.	Page.	Works.
			important. (A complete list of all Murillo's paintings, both in private collections and public galleries, will be found in the monographs upon his life and works.)
Diego Rodriguez de Silva y Velazquez (*see* Appendix III.)	1599-1660	226-251	The Museo del Prado, the Escorial, and many private collections in Madrid and other cities in Spain. There are no pictures by Velazquez in the Museo, Cathedral, or Churches of Seville (*see* p. 232). The National Gallery, the Wallace Collection at Hertford House, the Dulwich Gallery, and many private collections in London and the British Isles contain important works by Velazquez. He is represented in all the Continental galleries, the collections in the Gallery of Vienna and the Hermitage, St. Petersburg, being the most important. (A complete list of all the works of Velazquez, both in private collections and public galleries, will be found in the monographs upon his life and works.)

The Immediate Successors and Survivors of Velazquez and Murillo.

Name.	Date.	Page.	Works.
Juan de Pareja ("el esclava de Velazquez")	1606-70	253-4	Museo del Prado. There is a portrait by Pareja in the Dulwich Gallery.
Juan Bautista Martínez del Mazo	Year of birth unknown; d. 1667	255-6	Museo del Prado. There is a portrait by Del Mazo in the National Gallery.
Fray Juan Rizi	1595-1675	256-7	Museo del Prado.
Antonio Pereda	1599-1669	257-8	Museo del Prado.
Juan Carreño de Miranda	1614-85	259-260	Museo del Prado and the Escorial. There is a portrait by Carreño at Hampton Court.

Appendix II.

Mateo Cerezo	1635-75	260-1	Museo del Prado.
Sebastián Muñoz	1654-90	261-2	Museo del Prado.
Claudio Coello	Year of birth unknown; d. 1693	262-4	Tbe Escorial and the Museo del Prado. There is a picture by Claudio Coello in the Hermitage, St. Petersburg, and in the Pinakothek, Munich. He is unrepresented in the English galleries.
Francisco Rizi	1608-85	264-5	Museo del Prado and the Académia de Bellas Artes.
José Antolinez	1639-76	265	Museo del Prado.
Juan Antonio Escalante	1630-70	265	Museo del Prado.
Juan Cabezalero	1633-73	265	Museo del Prado.
Francisco Camillo	Year of birth unknown; d. 1671	265	Museo del Prado.
Antonio Arias Fernández	Year of birth unknown; d. 1681	265	Museo del Prado.
José Leonardo	1616-56	266	Museo del Prado.
Juan de Arellano	1614-76	266	Museo del Prado.
Luis Menéndez	1716-80	266	Museo del Prado.
Sebastián de Llanos y Valdés	Year of birth unknown; d. 1688	267	Pictures very rare.
Alonso Miguel de Tobar	1678-1758	268	Seville Cathedral and tbe Museo del Prado.
Francisco Meneses Osorio	Year of birth and death unknown; d. after 1700	268	Seville Museo and Capuchin Convent at Cadiz.
Sebastián Gómez ("el mulato de Murillo")	Year of birth and death unknown	268	Seville Museo.
Pedro Nuñez de Villavicencio	1635-1700	268	Seville Museo and the Museo del Prado.
Francisco Antolinez y Sarabia	Year of birth unknown; d. 1676	268	Museo del Prado.
Ignacio Iriarte	1620-85	269	Museo del Prado.
Palomino y Velasco	1653-1725	270	The Museo del Prado. Famous for his book, *El Museo y Escala Optica*.
Cean Bermudez	1749-1829	271	A few inferior paintings. Famous for his great work on Spanish art, *The Diccionario Historico*.
Francisco Bayeu	1734-95	273	Museo del Prado.
Mariano Maella	1739-1819	273	Museo del Prado.

Name.	Date.	Page.	Works.
The Painters of Aragon and Catalona.			
Antonio Viladomat	1678-1755	274	The Cathedral, the Casa Lonja, and the Church of Santa Maria in Barcelona.
Josef Luján Martinez	1710-85	274-5	The Cathedral and Churches of Zaragoza.
The Great Painter of the Eighteenth Century.			
Francisco Goya y Lucientes	1746-1828	275-298	The Museo del Prado, the Académia de Bellas Artes, the Churches of San Antonio de la Florida and San Anton Abad, as well as many other public buildings at Madrid. The Cathedral and the Alcázar of Seville, the Cathedrals of Valencia, Zaragoza, and Toledo, and every private collection of importance in Spain. The paintings of Goya can only be studied adequately in Spain. There are few of his pictures in the Continental galleries. The National Gallery has two portraits, a romantic pastoral and a fantastic study; the Louvre has one fine portrait and a sketch of a peasant woman; the Print-room of the British Museum has a good collection of his etchings and a few fine lithographs and drawings.
The Bourbon Painters.			
José de Madrazo	1781-1859	300	The Académia de la Bellas Artes.
Federigo de Madrazo	1815-94	300	The Museo de Arte Moderno.
Vicente Lopéz	1772-1850	300	The Museo del Prado and the Museo de Arte Moderno.
Bernardo Lopéz	1801-74	300	The Museo del Prado.

The Modern Spanish Historical Painters.

Painter	Dates	Page	Remarks
Francisco Pradilla	Born 1847	300	The majority of these painters have pictures in the Museo de Arte Moderno at Madrid.
José Casado	1832-86	301	
Lorenzo Vallés	Born 1831	301	
Luigi Alvarez	Born 1841	301	
José Benlliure	Born 1855	301	
José de Villegas	19th century	301	
Rosales	19th century	301	
Baldomero Galofré	1847-77	302	

The Great Painter of the Nineteenth Century.

Painter	Dates	Page	Remarks
Mariano Fortuny	1838-74	302-308	The Museo de Arte Moderno. The unfinished masterpiece, "The Battle of Tetuan," is in the Casa de la Diputación of Barcelona. Many of Fortuny's pictures are in private collections in America, in France, and in England.

The Modern Naturalists.

Painter	Dates	Page	Remarks
Ignacio Zuloago	Born 1870	309-311	The Luxembourg at Paris has two of Zuloago's pictures, the Brussels Gallery has one; indeed, he is represented in the majority of the European galleries of modern pictures. His work may be studied at most of the Continental exhibitions, and especially at the Salon of the Société de Beaux Arts, in Paris. There were two of his pictures in the International Collection of Works of Art, held in London in 1904.

Appendix III.

Chronology of the Lives of the Chief Painters of Spain.

Luis de Morales, called in Spain "El Divino."

1509. Born at Badajoz about 1509. Few details of his life. Worked alone and unnoticed in his native province of Estremadura.
1564. Summoned to the Court. Painted one picture of "Christ going to Calvary," which Philip II. gave to the Jerónymite Convent at Madrid.
About 1565. Returned to Estremadura, and continued to paint for the churches and convents of the province.
1581. Philip II. visited Badajoz, and granted Morales a pension.
1586. Died.

Vicente Juan Macip, commonly known as Juan de Juanes.

1505-23. Born at Fuente la Higuera, in Valencia, either in 1523 or between the years 1505 and 1507. Nothing known of his early life. Probably studied in Italy. Returned to Valencia and painted many pictures for the cathedral, the churches, and convents of the province. Deeply religious in character. Few incidents recorded of his life.
1579. Died at Bocairente, a small town in the Province of Alicante.

Juan Fernandez Navarrete, commonly called Navarreteel Mundo.

1526. Born at Logroño, in the wine district of Rioja.
1528. Became deaf before he had learned to speak, the result of an ague which attacked him during his second year. From this time Navarrete began to draw, using this means to express his wants. Went as a boy to be trained by the monks in the Monastery of Estrella. Through their bounty he went to study in Italy. Visited Florence, Rome, Naples, and Milan.
Some time before 1568. Returned to the Monastery of Estrella, and began to paint for the brothers.
1568. Summoned to the Court, at Madrid, by Philip II., owing to the recommendation of the Grand Almoner, who had seen his paintings in Rome. Went to work at the Escorial, where he drew some studies of the Prophets, in black and white, for the folding-doors of one of the high altars. Painted the "Baptism of Christ," now in the Prado. Returned to his native town owing to enfeebled health. Painted three pictures for monks of Estrella—an "Assumption of the Virgin," "The Martyrdom of St. James," and "The Repentance of St. Jerome."
1571. Again summoned to Madrid to work for the Court.

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1571-75. Painted "The Nativity," "Christ at the Column," "The Holy Family," "St. John writing the Apocalypse," and other less important works.

1576. Painted one of his finest works, "Abraham receiving the Three Angels," which was hung in the entrance hall of the Escorial, where it remained until the French War, when it was plundered and carried away. In the same year El Mundo received a commission to execute thirty-two pictures of saints and apostles to ornament the side altars of the Escorial.

1576-79. These years were spent working at the Escorial; eight pictures were completed and several others were designed.

1579. Died at Toledo.

El Licenciado, Juan de las Roelas, commonly called in Andalsuia "El clérigo Roelas."

1558-1560. Born at Seville between the years 1558 and 1560. Nothing known of his early life except that he studied in Italy. His manner of painting reflects the influence of the Venetian school, and many of his pictures suggest the inspiration of Tintoretto.

1609. Painted "Santiago destroying the Moors in the Battle of Clavijo" for the Chapter of the cathedral.

1616. Went to Madrid.

1617. Applied for the post of Court Artist to Philip III., but was not elected. Remained at Madrid for a brief period, painting pictures for the churches and convents.

Some time after 1617. Returned to Seville, where he painted the "Death of San Isidoro" for the church of the saint; the "Martyrdom of San Andrés," for the Colegio de Santo Tomás; "Santa Ana teaching the Virgin to read," for the Convent of Mercy; "The Adoration of the Magi," "The Presentation in the Temple," and a small, but very beautiful "Holy Family," for the University Church; the "Apotheosis of San Hermenegild," and the "Descent of the Holy Spirit," for the Hospital de la Sangre, as well as many other works.

1624. Presented with a prebendal stall in the church at Oliváres, a small village a few leagues from Seville. Here he painted five pictures—"The Birth of Christ," "The Adoration of the Virgin," "The Annunciation," the "Marriage of the Virgin," and the "Death of St. Joseph."

1625. Died at Oliváres.

Domenico Theotocópuli, called "El Greco" (the Greek).

1548? The place and date of birth are both uncertain. A picture at the Escorial, signed by the painter, says that he came from Crete. Traditionally, and erroneously, supposed to have studied in the school of Titian. Probably he worked at Venice, and his early painting suggests the influence of Tintoretto.

Before 1577? Came to Toledo.

1577. Built the Church of Santo Domingo el Antigua, and painted his first picture.

Shortly after 1577. Painted the "Expolio de Jesus," his most Venetian picture, for the Chapter of the cathedral. This led to a law-suit with the Chapter, owing to their objection to the introduction of the holy women into the picture.

1580. About this period, painted the "Martyrdom of St. Maurice," by the command of Philip II., to decorate one of the altars of the Escorial. Probably the "Dream of Philip II." was also executed at this time.

After 1580. Failure of the pictures. The royal favour was withdrawn from the Toledan genius and he returned to Toledo.
1584. Execution of his master-work, the "Burial of Gonzalo Ruiz, Count of Orgaz," in the Church of Santo Tomé. No authentic details of his later years are extant. He remained at Toledo, working as painter, sculptor, and architect.
About 1590. A Hospital of Charity was built at Illescas, a small town between Toledo and Madrid, and a fine altar-piece, a study of "St. Ildefonso," was painted.
After 1590? A law-suit was successfully fought to vindicate the right of the artist to be free from the taxes levied upon common mercantile wares.
About 1600. The Ayuntamiento, or city hall, was rebuilt, and decorated with fine sculptures. Two churches were built, the Hospital of the Charity and a church for the Franciscan Friars no longer standing. Many pictures, and especially a number of fine portraits, were painted during these years. Few bear any date.
1609? Portrait of Fray Felix Artiaga was painted, and the poet commemorated the work by writing two sonnets to the painter.
Carved the retablos for the Church of San Juan Bautista.
1611. Erected a catafalque, or funeral monument, in the cathedral, for Mariana of Austria.
Pacheco's visit to the painter, when he speaks of the power of colour.
April 7th, 1614. Died, and was buried in the convent church, Santo Domingo el Antigua.

Alonso Cano.

1601. Born in Granada, on March 19th. Worked with his father, Miguel Cano, carving retablos for the high altars of the churches of Andalusia.
Probably before 1620. Removed to Seville, through the recommendation of Juan del Castillo. Worked for eight months with Francisco Pacheco. Became the pupil of Juan del Castillo, and possibly of Herrera *el Viego.* Studied antique sculpture in the Casa Pilatos.
Before 1628. Carved and painted retablo for the Convent of Santa Paula, in addition to other works for the Carthusians of Seville.
1628. Finished the high-altar of the Church of Lebrija, a small town between Seville and Jeréz, which had been begun by his father.
1637. Duel with the painter Sebastián de Llanos y Valdés. Fled to Madrid to escape the punishment of the Inquisition. Gained the friendship of Velazquez, and, through his kindness, the protection of Olivarez. Painted "Christ being Scourged at Calvary," for the Church of San Ginés, and a second picture of "San Isidoro," and one of "St. Francis visited by an Angel," for churches in the capital.
1639. Made painter to Philip IV., and employed in painting the royal palaces.
Some years later. Appointed drawing-master to the Infante Don Baltazar Carlos.
1644. Suspected of murdering his wife. Escaped for sanctuary to the Chartreuse Convent of Portacœli, near Valencia. Painted a "Crucifixion" and a picture of Christ for the convent.
Somewhat later. Came into the power of the Inquisition, and was put to torture. Saved by the intervention of King Philip IV.
Before 1648. Returned to Madrid.
1648. Superintended the decorations to welcome Queen Doña Mariana of Austria.
Before 1651. Worked at Toledo, carving for the cathedral.
1651. Returned to Granada. Appointed a minor canon of the cathedral at Granada by Philip IV.

Appendix III.

After 1651. Wrought the image of "Our Lady of the Immaculate Conception" and other works and pictures for the cathedral and churches of Granada.

After 1651. Went to Malaga; designed the Capilla Mayor of the Cathedral, and painted the altar-piece known as "The Madonna del Rosario." Deprived of his canonry through having failed to take his orders within the proscribed time. Appealed to Philip IV. Restored to his canonry after some delay.

Between 1651-67. Painted many pictures, and carved many statues. One of the most beautiful, "Our Lady of Bethlehem," now in Seville Cathedral. Devoted his last years to pious deeds, and became very poor.

1667. Died in the city of Granada, on 15th October.

Francisco de Herrera, called Herrera "el Viego."

1576. Born at Seville. Studied in the school of Luis Fernandez, but gained little from this training. Through the force of his genius he became the pioneer of the Spanish Naturalists. Founded a school in Seville and had many pupils, among them Velazquez, Antonio Saavedra y Castillo, and possibly Alonso Cano. The fury of his temper interfered with his success as a teacher.

Before 1624. Accused of coining money. Sought sanctuary in the College of the Jesuits. Painted his picture "Apoteosis de San Hermenegildo" for the Jesuits of the College.

1624. Philip IV. visited Seville, and pardoned the painter.

Probably after 1624. Painted the "Vision of San Basilio" for the church of the saint; "San Basilio dictating his Doctrine," and three other fine pictures for the Franciscan Convent; "The Final Judgment" for the Church of San Bernardo; as well as other pictures, especially studies of the saints and apostles. In addition, he executed many frescoes. The most important that still remain are a series of faded mural pictures in the convent Church of San Buenventura.

1650. Went to Madrid.

1656. Died in that city.

Francisco de Zurbarán.

1598. Born at Fuente de Cantos, a small town in Estremadura. Baptised on the 7th of November in the same place. Spent his early years as a peasant lad in the wilds of Estremadura; his training being self-acquired by continually drawing the common objects around him. When still young came to Seville, and became the pupil of Juan de las Roelas. For several years worked ardently, studying especially the monks of the many religious orders of Andalusia.

1623. Executed his first important work: nine pictures illustrating the history of St. Peter, which still hang in the Cathedral of Seville.

Between 1625 and 1630, probably 1628. Painted his finest allegorical scene, a large triple altar-piece, "The Apotheosis of St. Thomas Aquinas," for the college of the saint.

1629. Painted the picture of "St. Bonaventura displaying the Crucifix to St. Thomas Aquinas," now in Berlin, and probably the companion pictures on the life of St. Bonaventura.

Probably after 1629. Went to the monastery of the Jeronymite Friars of Guadalupe, and painted a series of pictures upon the life of St. Jerome, now in the Sacristía of Guadalupe Cathedral.

Probably between 1629 and 1633. Executed the series of pictures now in Seville Museum: "San Hugo visiting the Monks in their Refectory,"

"St. Bruno conversing with Pope Urban II.," "The Virgin shadowing with her mantle a company of Carthusians," for the Cartuja of Santa Maria de las Cuevas.

Before 1633. Made *pintor del rey* to Philip IV.

1633. Painted a series of pictures, now in the Académia de Bellas Artes, at Cadiz, on the life of Christ, with studies of the evangelists and saints, for the Cartuja of Jeréz; also the altar-piece of the *Porciuncula*, for the Capuchin Church of Jeréz.

In the same year. Painted the greatest of his religious compositions, "The Adoration of the Shepherds," until recently in the collection of the Infanta Doña Maria Luisa Fernanda de Bourbon.

Between 1633-50. Lived in Seville, painted for the churches and convents of the city. Tradition relates that during these years the painter retired to his native town of Fuente de Cantos, but was induced to return by a deputation of Sevillian citizens; there is, however, no authentic foundation for the story.

1650. Summoned to the Court to paint for the King, tradition says at the suggestion of Velazquez.

Between 1650-62 (?). Lived at Madrid. Executed a group of compositions, illustrating the history of Hercules, now in the Prado, for the Saloncete of the Buen Retiro.

1662 (?). Died in Madrid, probably in this year, but the exact date is uncertain.

Jusepe de Ribera, known as "lo Spagnoletto."

1588. Born at Zátiva, a town in Valencia, on the 12th of January. (*See* page 186.)

From 1588-1600 (?). Probably studied with Francisco de Ribalta, at Valencia.

From 1600 (?)-15. Went to Rome while still a lad, exact date uncertain. Worked in the streets of Rome, begging his daily food, and painting everything he saw. Adopted by a cardinal and made a page in his palace. Ran away in order that he might again paint. Copied the designs of Annibale Caracci in the Farnese Palace, and studied the paintings of Raphael. Journeyed to Parma and Modena to study the paintings of Correggio.

Before 1615. Returned to Rome.

Shortly after 1615. Left Rome for Naples.

After 1615. Married the daughter of a rich picture-dealer. Painted his first important picture, "The Martyrdom of St. Bartholomew." Gained the notice of the Count de Monterey, the Spanish Viceroy, one of the Dukes of Osuna. Went to live at the palace, and became the popular painter of Naples and the head of the Italian *Naturalisti*.

From 1615-30. Lived at Naples, painting many pictures, the majority of which were sent to Philip IV., to decorate the royal palaces of Spain. Gained absolute ascendency of the Neapolitan painters, and with Belisario Correnzio and Gambattista, formed an arrogant cabal to prevent all strange artists from working at Naples.

1609. Death of Annibale Caracci, due to the injustice he received in Naples from the cabal.

1629-30. Obtained the friendship of Velazquez, who came to Naples during his first Italian journey.

1630. Elected a member of the Academy of St. Luke.

After 1630. Continued to live at Naples, painting many pictures, and each year becoming more powerful.

1641. Murder of Domenichino, probably due to the jealousy of Ribera and his friends.

1644. Decorated by the Pope with the Order of Abito de Cristo.
Some time before 1648. Elopement of his daughter Doña Maria Rose with Don Juan of Austria.
1648. Story recounted by Dominici of his leaving his home in grief and bitterness.
1649. Second visit of Velazquez.
1649-56. No record of these years.
1656. Death at Naples? (*See* page 194.)

Bartolomé Esteban Murillo.

1617. Born in Seville, in the last week of December.
1618. Baptised in the parish church of La Magdalena, on the 1st of January.
Before 1629. His parents died of a malignant epidemic. He was adopted by an uncle, and began to study as a poor apprentice in the studio of Juan del Castillo.
1632. Painted his first important picture of "The Virgin with St. Francis," for the Convent de Regina.
1640. Juan del Castillo left Seville, and the young painter began to work alone.
From 1640-43. Sold pictures, painted on saga-cloth, at the Feria, the weekly fair, held in the Macarena, the poor quarter of Seville.
1642. Pedro Moya returned to Seville and fired the imagination of Murillo with his stories of the great pictures he had seen.
1643. Journeyed to Madrid.
From 1643-45. Worked at Madrid, under the guidance of Velazquez, copying the pictures in the royal galleries.
1645. Returned to Seville.
1646. Executed his first great work, the cycle of pictures which formerly decorated the Franciscan Convent of Seville.
1648. Married a rich and noble wife, Doña Beatriz de Cabrera y Sotomayer, of Pilas.
From 1648-52. Painted many pictures, the majority in his early manner where the natural is only tinged with the unreal.
1652. Painted "Our Lady of the Conception" for the Brotherhood of the True Cross, his first important work in his second manner, wherein the unreal mingles with the natural.
1655. Executed the two fine portraits of St. Leander and St. Isidore and a "Nativity of the Virgin" for the Chapter of the cathedral.
1656. Painted "St. Anthony of Padua's Vision of the Holy Child" for the Capilla del Bautisterio of the cathedral, and four pictures for the Church of Santa Maria la Blanca, the first works in his last manner, wherein the natural is lost in the unreal.
1658. Formed the idea of founding a public Académia de Artes in Seville, for training the Andalusian painters.
1660. The Académia was opened with Murillo as the first president.
About 1668. Painted a beautiful "Conception" and the series of oval medallions of the saints for the Sala Capitular of the cathedral.
1670. Palomino recounts that he was summoned to the Court.
1671. Executed the decorations of the Capilla Real for the ceremony in honour of the canonisation of Ferdinand III.
1671-75. Executed the famous group of pictures for the Hospital de la Caridad.
Between 1675-81. Remained at Seville, painting many pictures, the most important being twenty large pictures for the Capuchin Convent of the Franciscans, now in Seville Museo; "The Guardian Angel," for the same order, now in the cathedral; the famous "Immaculate Conception"

of the Louvre, and three other pictures for the Hospital de los Venerables; several pictures for the Augustine Friars, that have been carried from Spain; "St. John with the Lamb," and other pictures of the Holy Children, now in the Prado and elsewhere; "Santa Ana teaching the Virgin to read"; and many other works.

1681. Invited by the Capuchins to Cadiz. Painted several small pictures for the Capuchin Convent. Also "The Holy Family," now in the National Gallery, probably for a private patron.

Early in 1682. Fell from the scaffolding while painting his last great picture, "The Marriage of St. Catherine," an altar-piece for the Capuchin Convent. Returned to Seville. Died on the 3rd of April, and was buried in the Church of Santa Cruz.

Diego Rodriguez de Silva y Velazquez.

1599. Born at Seville on the 5th of June. Baptised on the 6th of June.

1612. Entered the studio of Herrera *el Viego.*

1613. Left the tuition of Herrera, and became the pupil of Pacheco.

From 1613-22. Worked under the guidance of Pacheco, but gained his true training from incessant and self-imposed work. Painted many *Bodegónes* or simple studies of common life.

1618. Married Doña Juana de Miranda, the daughter of Pacheco.

1619. Painted "The Adoration of the Magi," "The Old Woman with the Omelet"; and about the same time, "Christ in the House of Martha."

1620. Painted "The Water Seller," as well as other less important early pictures.

1621. Philip III. died, and was succeeded by his son Philip IV., a patron of art.

1622. Went with Pacheco to Madrid, but failed to obtain an audience with the king. Painted the portrait of the poet Don Luis de Góngora. Returned to Seville.

1623. Went again to Madrid. Painted the portrait of his friend, Don Juan de Fonesca. Received at the Court, and introduced to Philip IV.

August 1623. Painted the first portrait of Philip IV., and a sketch of Charles I. of England, then Prince of Wales.

1623-28. Painted portraits of Philip IV., of the Queen Doña Isabel de Bourbon, of Olivarez, and other members of the royal family. Also the portraits of his wife and of two children, supposed to be his daughters.

1628. Rubens visits the Court of Spain. The same year "Los Borrachos" was painted.

1629. Started on the first journey to Italy.

1629-31. Spent in Italy, in Venice, Naples, and Rome. "The Forge of Vulcan," "Joseph's Coat," several small landscapes, and a portrait of himself were painted.

1631. Returned to Spain.

From 1631-43. Decorative period of painting for the Buen Retiro and royal palaces. Chief pictures are the scriptural pieces of "The Crucifixion" and "Christ at the Column," the equestrian and hunting portraits, the studies of Don Baltasar in the Riding-school, the presentments of the Boar Hunt, and "The Surrender of Breda," as well as a series of portraits of celebrated Spaniards, the most important of which are probably the "Admiral Pulido de Pareja," of the National Gallery, and "Martinez Montañés," in the Prado.

1643. The disgrace of Olivarez.

1644. Velazquez attends Philip on his journey to quell the Catalonian Insurrection to the border town of Fraga, where he paints the "Fraga Portrait."

Appendix III.

From 1644-48. Painted many of the series of dwarfs and Court buffoons now in the Prado.
1646. Prince Don Bâltasar died.
1648. Left Madrid for Italy.
1649. Sailed from Malaga, and landed in Italy early in February.
1650. Painted the portrait of his slave Juan de Pareja, also two studies and the celebrated portrait of Innocent X.
1651. Returned to Madrid to paint the portrait of Philip's girl-bride, Mariana of Austria.
1652. Elected the Aposentador Mayor to the royal household.
From 1652-59. Final period of supreme achievement. Painted portraits of Philip, of Doña Mariana of Austria, of the Infantas Doña Maria Teresa and Doña Margarita Maria, and other portraits.
1655. Painted "Las Meniñas," and immediately afterwards "Las Hilanderas."
1652-59. The classic pieces, "Mercury and Argus," "The God Mars," and the incomparable "Venus," the studies of "Æsop" and "Mœnippus," various dwarfs and buffoons, several landscapes, and the scriptural compositions of "The Coronation of the Virgin" and "St. Anthony the Hermit visiting St. Paul" were painted.
1659. The Court journeys to the Isle of Pheasants, in the Rio Bidasoa, to celebrate the nuptials of the Infanta Doña Maria Teresa with Louis XIV. of France.
July 1659. Velazquez seized with ague, due to over-fatigue.
August 6th, 1659. Died, and was buried in the Church of St. John the Baptist.

Francisco Goya y Lucientes.

1746. Born at Fuendetodos, a small town a few leagues from Zaragoza, on 31st March.
Before 1761. Gained the friendship of the priest, Fray Felix Salvador.
About 1761. Went to Zaragoza to be trained in the studio of Luján Martinez.
About 1766. Fell under the ban of the Inquisition, and escaped to Madrid. Remained at the capital until he again came into the power of the Inquisition, owing to a brawl, when, tradition says, he was found lying in one of the streets of the capital with a knife thrust into his back.
Probably between 1770-1775. Escaped to Italy. Won a second prize at Parma, for a study of "Hannibal viewing Italy from the summit of the Alps." Painted a rapid portrait-study of Pope Benedict XIV.
1775. Returned to Madrid. Married Doña Josefa, daughter of the Court-painter, Francisco Bayeu.
From 1775-80. Painted the group of pictnres now in the Académia de Bellas Artes at Madrid. Gained the friendship of Raphael Mengs. Commissioned to paint a series of tapestry designs to be woven at the Fábrica de Tapices de Santa Bárbara for the decoration of the Prado and the Escorial. Painted "Christ Crucified" and a study of "St. Francis."
1780. Elected a member of the Académia de San Fernando.
Shortly after 1780. Decorated one of the cupolas of the Church del Pilar of Zaragoza. Gained the friendship of the Conde de Florida Blanca, who introduced him to Don Luis, the brother of Charles III. Admitted to the Court, and executed many portraits of the Court circle.
1788. Charles III. died, and was succeeded by Charles IV.
1789. Made *Pintor de camára del Rey* by Charles IV. Became the favourite of the Queen Doña Maria Luisa and of the Countess of Benavente.
From 1789-95. Painted the "Romeria de San Isidro" and many other scenes for the Alemeda Palace. In addition, executed many portraits. Retirement to San Lucar.

1795. Elected Director of the Académia de San Fernando.
1798. Executed the decorations in the Church of San Antonio de la Florida. Elected first painter to the King.
Shortly after 1798. Executed "Los Caprichos" and the "Tauromachia." Gained the displeasure of the Inquisition, but was saved by the intervention of the King.
1808. The French enter Spain. Charles IV. abdicates, and retires to Fontainebleau. Joseph Bonaparte declared King of Spain.
After 1808. Executed "Los Desastres de la Guerra," and the pictures "El dos de Mayo" and "Episodio de la Invasión Francesca."
1814. Ferdinand VII., Prince of the Asturias, returned to the throne, and Joseph Bonaparte driven into exile. Goya takes the oath of fealty to the new King, and paints his portrait.
February, 1819. Executed his earliest lithograph of "A Woman Spinning."
Just before 1822. Painted "The Communion of St. Joseph of Calansanz," for the Church of San Anton Abad.
1822. Left Madrid, and went to Paris in search of health.
Shortly after 1822. Went to Bordeaux. Executed the "Taureaux de Bordeaux," in addition to various portraits, the "Obras Sueltas" several etchings, and miniatures on ivory.
1827. Returned to Spain. The same year came once more to Bordeaux.
1828. Died on 16th March, and was buried in the cemetery of Bordeanx.

Mariano Fortuny.

1838. Born at Reus, in the Province of Tarragona, on 11th June.
1847. Entered the School of Design at Reus.
1850. Sold his first picture.
1852. Went to study at Barcelona.
1857. Gained the Prix de Rome for the picture of "Raymond III. nailing the Arms of Barcelona on to the City Walls."
1858. Arrived at Rome.
1860. Went on a campaign to Morocco. Made numerous sketches.
1861. Returned to Italy. Painted his famous "Sketch of a Negro." Executed his first etching.
1862. Went on a second campaign to Morocco. Made sketches for the picture of "The Battle of Tetuan."
Between 1862-66. Worked at "The Battle of Tetuan," and executed the picture of "The Queen-Regent and Doña Isabel, the girl Sovereign, reviewing the Spanish Troops."
1866. Went to Madrid.
1867. Married Doña Cecilia de Madrazo, daughter of the painter Don Federigo de Madrazo.
1868. Returned to Rome.
1869. Visited Paris.
From 1868-70. Painted "The Spanish Marriage."
From 1870-72. Visited Madrid and Seville.
From 1872-74. Returned to Rome, and painted "The Academicians of San Luke selecting a Model" and "The Rehearsal."
1874. Visited London. Returned to Rome.
Nov. 21st. Died, and was buried at Rome.

Appendix IV.

The Important Spanish Pictures in the Museo del Prado, the Museo de Arte Moderno, and the Académia de Bellas Artes, at Madrid; in the Escorial; and in the Provincial Museos, Cathedrals, and Churches of Seville, Cadiz, Valencia, and Toledo.

The painters are arranged chronologically to correspond with the text.

There is doubt as to the authorship of the pictures of the first three painters. See pp. 38, 44, 45, 46.

* The pictures marked with an asterisk are reproduced in the book.

Museo del Prado, Madrid.

Fernando Gallegos (?)

The Visitation.
The Birth of St. John the Baptist.
The Preaching of St. John the Baptist.
St. John baptising the Christ.
St. John the Baptist in Prison.
* The Death of St. John the Baptist.

Juan de Borgoña (?)

The Salutation of the Angel to Mary.
The Visitation.
The Adoration of the Kings.
The Presentation of the Child Jesus in the Temple.
The Circumcision of Christ.
The Death of the Virgin.
* The Catholic Kings adoring the Virgin and her Son.

Pedro Berruguete (?)

* Two Scenes in the Life of Santo Domingo de Guzmán.
The Preaching of San Pedro, Martyr.
San Pedro, Martyr, in Prayer.
The Death of San Pedro, Martyr.
The Miracle of Santo Tomás de Aquino.
The Apparition of the Virgin to a Company of Monks.
Santo Domingo de Guzmán.
San Pedro, Martyr.
An Auto de Fe, presided over by Santo Domingo de Guzmán.

Gaspar Becerra.

The Penitent Magdalene.

Diego Correa.

Pilate washing his Hands.
Christ crowned with Thorns.
Ecce Homo.
The Death of the Virgin.
The Death of San Bernardo.
The Last Judgment.
The Virgin with Jesus and Santa Ana.
San Benito giving his Benediction to San Mauro.
The Martyrdom of St. Andrew.
The Resurrection of Christ.
St. Peter healing a Paralytic.
The Day of Pentecost.
The Entombment.

Luis de Carbajal.

The Penitent Magdalene.
San Nicolás of Tolentino.

Blas del Prado.

The Virgin with Jesus and various Saints.

Luis de Morales.

*Ecce Homo.
The Virgin de los Dolores.
The Virgin caressing her Divine Son.
The Saviour.
Christ with the Two Thieves.
* The Presentation of the Child Jesus in the Temple.

Juan de Juanes.

St. Stephen accused before the Jewish Council.
St. Stephen conducted to Martyrdom.
The Martyrdom of St. Stephen.
* The Entombment of the Saint.
* La Cena (the Last Supper).
Ecce Homo.
The Visitation.
The Martyrdom of Santa Inés.
The Coronation of the Virgin.
The Saviour healing the Dumb Man.
Melchisedec, King of Salem.
Aaron, the High Priest.
The Saviour with the Cross.
Christ distributing the Sacred Eucharist.
The Entombment of Christ.
Christ praying in the Garden of Olives.
Portrait of Don Luis de Castelvi.

Juan Fernandez Navarrete (El Mundo).

* The Baptism of Christ.
* The Apostle Paul and the Apostle Peter, two studies for the pictures of the Apostles at the Escorial.

Juan de las Roelas.

Moses striking the Rock.

Domenico Theotocópuli (El Greco).

Jesus Christ in the Arms of God the Father.
The Crucifixion.
The Annunciation.
The Sacred Family.
The Baptism of Christ.
St. Paul.
Portrait of Don Rodrigo Vázquez, President of Castile.
Un Medico (a doctor).
Six un-named Portraits of Men.

Alonso Sanchez Coello.

* Don Carlos, son of Philip II.
Doña Isabel Clara Eugenia, daughter of Philip II.
The Infantas Doña Isabel Clara Eugenia and Doña Catalina Micaela.
The Infanta Doña Catalina Micaela (?)
The Queen Doña Ana of Austria, wife of Philip II. (?)
A Princess of the House of Austria.
A Grand Lady.
A Knight of the Order of Santiago, supposed to be either D. Antonio Pérez or D. Francisco de Herrera y Saavedra.
* The Marriage of St. Catherine.

Pantoja de la Cruz.

The Infanta Emperatriz Doña Maria, sister of Philip II., and wife of the Emperor Maximilian.
Doña Isabel de Valois, wife of Philip II.
A second Portrait in a different position.
Doña Margarita of Austria, wife of Philip III.
The Emperor Charles V. (probably copied from the portrait by Titian).
The Infanta Doña Juana, the Princess of Portugal, sister of Philip II.
A Knight of the Order of Santiago, dressed in black.
A Señora dressed in Court costume of Philip III.
Philip II., old.
A Lady, young and graceful; a servant of the Palace in the reign of Philip II.
The Birth of the Virgin.
The Birth of Christ.
Many of the figures in these scriptural compositions are portraits of the members of the royal household.

Francisco Pacheco.

Santa Inés.
Santa Catalina.
St. John the Evangelist.
St. John the Baptist.

Herrera *el Mozo.*

The Triumph of San Hermenegildo.

Francisco Collantes.

The Vision of Ezekiel.

Appendix IV.

Eugenio Caxes.

The Repulse of the English at Cadiz.
San Ildefonso receiving the Cope from the Virgin.

Pedro de Moya (?)

Scene in the History of Joseph (Genesis xxxvii. 17-24).
Do. (Genesis xxxvii. 28).
Do. (Genesis xxxix. 11-12).
Do. (Genesis xli. 14, and following verses).
Do. (Genesis xli. 42-43).
Do. (Genesis xlii. 25).

Juan de Valdés Leal.

The Presentation of the Virgin.
Jesus disputing with the Doctors.

Alonso Cano.

Christ Crucified.
* The Virgin adoring her Son.
A second rendering of the same subject.
Christ at the Column.
Jesus Christ dead.
The Vision of San Benito Abad.
St. Jerome penitent.
St. John the Evangelist writing the Apocalypse.
A Gothic King.
Two Kings.

Fray Juan Bautista Mayno.

The Pacification of the Flemish Provinces.
The Adoration of the Kings.

Luis Tristan.

Portrait of an Old Man.

Fray Antanasio Bocanegra.

The Virgin and Child Jesus, with St. John and Santa Ana.

Antonio del Castillo y Saavedra.

The Adoration of the Shepherds.

Francisco de Ribalta.

Jesus Christ dead in the Arms of two Angels.
St. Francis consoled by an Angel.
Christ Crucified.
* The Apostles St. John and St. Matthew.
A Soul in Blessedness.
A Soul in Punishment.

Juan de Ribalta.

A Portrait of a Singer.

Jerónimo Espinosa.

St. Mary Magdalene in Prayer.
Christ at the Column.
St. John with the Lamb.

Pedro Orrente.

The Return of the Flock.
The Shepherd and his Flock.
The Adoration of the Shepherds.
The Scene at Calvary.
The Departure of the Family of Lot.
A landscape, with the figures of Jesus and Mary Magdalene.

Esteban March.

Portrait of Juan Bautista del Mazo.
The Passage of the Red Sea.
San Jerónimo.
San Onofre.
An Encampment.
A Peasant.
An Old Man drinking.
An Old Woman drinking.

Francisco de Zurbarán.

Vision of San Pedro Nolasco.
The Apostle San Pedro appearing to San Pedro Nolasco.
Santa Casilda.
The Child Jesus sleeping upon the Cross.
Ten pictures illustrating the history of Hercules.

Jusepe de Ribera (lo Spagnoletto).

* The Martyrdom of St. Bartholomew.
A second presentment of the same subject.
Ixion at the Wheel.
Prometheus chained on the Summit of the Caucasus.
Two Women in Combat.
* La Escala de Jacob (Genesis xxviii.).
Two studies of the Penitent Magdalene.
Joseph with the Boy Jesus in the Carpenter's Shop.
The Holy Trinity.
The Entombment of Christ.
The Conception.
Jacob receiving the Blessing of Isaac.
The Ecstasy of St. Francis.

Jusepe de Ribera—*continued.*

St. Peter visited by an Angel in Prison.
St. Peter the Hermit in his Grotto.
St. John in the Desert.
St. Christopher bearing the Infant Christ.
St. Jerome in Penitence.
St. Jerome in the Desert.
St. Jerome in Prayer.
St. Augustin kneeling in Prayer.
San Sebastián.
Santa Maria Egipciaca.
Two studies of San Roque.
An Anchorite in Penitence.
A Saint in Prayer.
Numerous studies of saints and apostles; painted for the Escorial, and the Alcázar and Palace of Madrid.
Portrait of the sculptor Gambazo.
Portrait of a philosopher.
A second rendering of the same subject.
* A young and beautiful woman.
An old man.
Two fragments from a large picture, which was burned during the fire at the Royal Alcázar, in 1734.

Bartolomé Esteban Murillo.

* The Sacred Family, called *Del Pajarito.*
Rebecca and Eleazar.
The Annunciation of the Virgin.
A second presentment of the same subject.
The Penitent Magdalene.
St. Jerome in his Grotto.
The Adoration of the Shepherds.
Allegorical representation of the Vision of St. Augustine.
La Porciúncula.
The Virgin with the Child Jesus.
St. James the Apostle.
The Infant Christ with a Lamb.
The Child Baptist with a Lamb.
Christ and St. John, known as *Los Niños de la concha.*
The Mystical Ascension, showing San Bernardo praising the Virgin.
San Ildefonso receiving the Chasuble from the Virgin.
The Virgin, known as *Del Rosario.*
The Conversion of St. Paul.
Santa Ana teaching the Virgin to read.
Christ Crucified.
A second rendering of the subject.
San Fernando, King of Spain.
Four different renderings of the Immaculate Conception. (Two are early works, and are handled with greater force and more simplicity. The others were painted at a later period, and belong to Murillo's last manner of melting unreality.)
The Martyrdom of St. Andrew.
Four sketches illustrating the parable of the Prodigal Son.
The Child Christ asleep upon the Cross.
The Head of St. John the Baptist.
The Head of St. Paul the Apostle.
St. Jerome reading.
St. Francis de Paula resting upon his staff.
A second rendering of the saint.
Ecce Homo.
The Virgin de los Dolores.
Study of an old woman.
Study of a Gallega (Galician woman) with money.
Portrait of P. Cavanillas, a bare-footed cleric clad in the vestments of his order.
A hilly landscape, showing the mouth of a river.
A river landscape.

Diego Velazquez.

The Adoration of the Magi.
Christ Crucified.
* The Coronation of the Virgin.
St. Anthony visiting St. Paul the Hermit.
* The Topers, usually known as "Los Borrachos."
* The Forge of Vulcan.
The Surrender of Breda.
The Tapestry Manufactory of Santa Isabel of Madrid, known as "Las Hilanderas."
* "Las Meniñas," the serving-maids; formerly called "La Familia." The original sketch for "Las Meniñas" is in England, in the collection of Ralph Banks, Esq., Kingston Lacy, Wimborne; there is a copy of the picture in the Diploma Gallery, Burlington House.
Mercury and Argus.
Equestrian portrait of King Philip III.

Diego Velazquez—*continued.*

Equestrian portrait of Queen Doña Margarita of Austria, wife of Philip III. These equestrian portraits of Philip III. and his Queen were not entirely painted by Velazquez. The pictures were already executed when he came to the Court. He re-painted the faces. This fact explains the heavy brush-work seen in the dresses.

Equestrian portrait of King Philip IV.

Equestrian portrait of Queen Doña Isabel de Borbón, first wife of Philip IV.

Equestrian portrait of Prince Don Baltazar Carlos. A small and somewhat dull copy of this picture is in the Dulwich Gallery.

Equestrian portrait of the Conde-Duque de Olivarez.

Philip IV., young.

Bust of Philip IV., young. The earliest known portrait of the King.

The Infanta Doña Maria, Queen of Hungary, sister of Philip IV. In this picture little more than the borse was painted by Velazquez.

The Infante Don Carlos, second son of Philip IV.

King Philip IV. in hunting attire.

The Infante Don Fernando de Austria, brother of Philip IV., dressed for the chase, with dog and gun.

Prince Don Baltasar Carlos at six years old, dressed in hunting costume, with dog and gun.

King Philip IV. when about fifty years of age.

Queen Doña Mariana of Austria, second wife of Philip IV.

* A repetition of the picture, with a slight difference in the arrangement of the curtain.

Bust of Philip IV. when old.

Philip IV. in prayer.

Queen Doña Mariana of Austria in prayer. This picture is the companion to the one above; they were originally painted to hang in the Royal Chapel of the Escorial.

Prince Don Baltasar Carlos, about fourteen years of age.

The Infanta Doña Maria Teresa, when about ten years old, daughter of Philip IV., and afterwards Queen of France. This is the title given to the picture in the catalogue of the Prado Museo. Carl Justi and some other critics think the work is a portrait of the Infanta Doña Margarita.

The poet Don Luis de Góngora y Argote.

Doña Juana Pacheco, wife of Velazquez.

Portraits of two children, supposed to be the daughters of Velazquez.

Don Antonio Alonso Pimentel, ninth Conde de Benavente, Lord of the Bedchamber to Philip IV.

* The sculptor Martinez Montañés. At one time this pictüre was wrongly supposed to be the portrait of Alonso Cano.

A buffoon of Philip IV., called Pablillos de Valladolid.

Don Pernía, commonly called Barbarroja, *hombre de placer* of Philip IV. (unfinished).

A Juggler of Philip IV., known as Don Juan of Austria.

A Dwarf of Philip IV., known as El Primo.

The Dwarf, commonly called Don Sebastián de Morra.

The Dwarf, commonly called Antonio el Inglés.

The Dwarf, el niño de Vallecas.

The Dwarf, el Bobo de Coria.

Æsop.

Mœnippus.

The God Mars.

Bust portrait of a man.

Bust portrait of a man.

Don Alonso Martinez de Espinar, Valet-de-Chambre to Prince Don Baltasar Carlos.

Vista in the Garden of the *Villa Medici* at Rome.

A second view in the same garden.

Vista of the Arch of Titus in the *Campo Vaccino* at Rome.

Vista of the Fountain of the Tritones in the Garden of Aranjuez.

Vista of the Calle de la Reina at Aranjuez.

Vista of the Buen Retiro in the time of Philip IV.

Diego Velazquez—*continued.*

View of a Royal Residence, probably the old Alcázar.
A Study of landscape and perspective. The god Mercury is clearing the heavens with the caduceus in his hand; other figures are shown in the lower part of the picture.
A Study of landscape and perspective.

Juan Bautista Martinez del Mazo.

Queen Doña Mariana of Austria.
Don Tiburcio de Redin y Cruzat.
* View of the City of Zaragoza. The figures are supposed to have been painted by Velazquez.
View of a Mountain Ravine.
View of a Sea-port.
View of the Monastery of the Escorial.
View of the Campello, the *casa de campo* of the monks of the Escorial.
Mountainous Landscape.
Landscape of a Torrent and Rocks, illumined by flashes of lightning.
View of a Sea-port, showing the quay.
View of a Castle.
A River Landscape, with high cliffs.

Juan de Pareja.

The Call of St. Matthew.

Fray Juan Rizi.

St. Francis of Assisi branded with the Stigmata.

Antonio Pareda.

St. Jerome meditating upon the Final Judgment.
Ecce Homo.

Juan Carreño de Miranda.

* King Charles II.
Queen Doña Mariana of Austria.
Pedro Iwanowitz Potemkin, Ambassador of the Czar of Moscow.
Francisco Bazán, buffoon in the Court of Charles II.
A gigantic niña.
San Sebastián.

Mateo Cerezo.

The Ascension.
The Marriage of St. Catherine of Alexandria.

Sebastian Muñoz.

Portrait of the painter.
St. Augustin exorcising the Plague of Locusts.
The Burial of the Conde de Orgaz.

Claudio Coello.

Charles II.
The Virgin and the Infant Christ.
A second rendering of the same subject.
The Apotheosis of St. Augustine.
Santo Domingo de Guzmáo.
Santa Rosa de Lima.

Francesco Rizi.

Auto de Fe in the Plaza Mayor, Madrid, on June 30th, 1680.
The Annunciation.
The Adoration of the Kings.
The Presentation of the Child Jesus in the Temple.
Portrait of a General of the Artillery.

José Antolínez.

The Ecstasy of the Magdalene.

Juan Antonio Escalante.

The Holy Family.
The Child Jesus with St. John.
The Prudent Abigail.
The Triumph of Faith over Sense.

Juan Cabezalero.

The Judgment of a Soul.

Francisco Camilo.

The Martyrdom of St. Bartholomew

Antonio Arias Fernández.

The Pharisees questioning Christ with regard to rendering Tribute to Cæsar (St. Luke xx. 22).

José Leonardo.

The Surrender of Breda. This picture gave Velazquez the idea of the row of lances in "Las Lanzas."
An Episode in the Thirty Years' War.

Juan de Arellano.

Six studies of Flowers.

Luis Menéndiz.

The Virgin caressing the Child Jesus.
Twenty-four Bodégones.
Fourteen studies of Fruit.

Appendix IV.

Alonso Miguel de Tobar.

Portrait of Murillo. This picture is supposed to be a copy of the fine original portrait by Murillo, now at Althorp, in the collection of Earl Spencer.

Pedro Nuñez de Villavicencio.

Muchachos playing a Game of Dice.

Francisco Antolínez y Sarabia.

The Presentation of the Virgin.
The Annunciation.
The Marriage of the Virgin.
The Birth of Christ.
The Adoration of the Kings.
The Flight into Egypt.

Ignacio Iriarte.

Mountain landscape.
View of a Tower standing by a Lake.
View of a Tree on the banks of a Torrent.
View of a Ruin on the border of a River.

Palomino y Velasco.

The Conception.
The child St. John.
San Bernardo.

Francisco Goya.

Equestrian portrait of King Charles IV. of Bourbon.
Equestrian portrait of the Queen Doña Maria Luisa, wife of Charles IV.
A picador.
Episode in the French Invasion.
* Scene of the Dos de Mayo.
* The Family of Charles IV.
King Charles IV. on foot.
Queen Doña Maria Luisa.
The Infanta Doña Maria Josefa, eldest daughter of Charles III.
The Infante Don Francisco Antonio, infant son of Charles IV.
The Infante Don Carlos Maria Isidro, son of Charles IV. Bust study.
Don Luis, Prince of Parma, son-in-law of Charles IV. Bust study.
The Infante Don Antonio, brother of Charles IV. Bust study.
Don Máiquez, the famous actor.

Francisco Goya—*continued.*

The Pradera de San Isidro. This picture came from the Alemeda Palace, after the sale of the collection of the Duque of Osuna.
The Dukes of Osuna.
Doña Tadea Arias de Enríquez.
Ferdinand VII. in robes of royal state.
General Urrutia.
Charles III. in the first years of his kingship.
Don Francisco Bayeu y Subías.
* Doña Josefa Bayeu, wife of Goya.
Portrait of the Painter in his youth. A repetition of the picture in the Académia de Bellas Artes.
Ferdinand VII., young.
Equestrian portrait of General Palafox.
A rough sketch for a piece of tapestry: dogs and implements for the chase.
A *majo* playing the guitar.
A dead Turkey.
Dead birds.
Jesus Crucified.
The Holy Family.
The Exorcist.

Collection of Pictures from the House of Goya.

A Manola.
The Pilgrimage to San Isidro.
A Vision Fantastic.
Las Parcas.
Two Men Fighting.
Two old Monks.
The Vision of the Romería de San Isidro.
A study of Witches.
Two old men eating soup.
Saturn devouring his Son.
Judith and Holofernes.
Two women laughing.
A group of various men listening to one reading from a paper.
A grotesque figure, with the head of a dog.

Designs for the Tapestries woven at the Fábrica de Tapices de Santa Bárbara.

* The *Merienda* on the banks of the Manzanares.

The Dance in San Antonio de la Florida.
The Dispute in the Veuta Nueva.
The *Maja.*
The Love Potion.
The Parasol.
The Kite.
The Game of Cards.
Children blowing a Bladder.
Children picking Fruit.
The blind Guitarra.
La Feria of Madrid.
The Crockery-seller.
The Soldier and the Señora.
La Acerolera.
Muchachos playing at Soldiers.
El juego de pelota.
The Swing.
The Washerwomen.
The Bull Fight.
The Guard of the Tobacco.
El Niño.
El Muchacho.
Los Lenadores.
The Rendezvous.
The Flower Girls.
The Threshing-floor.
The Vintage.
The Wounded Mason.
The Poor at the Fountain.
The Snowstorm.
The Wedding.
The Girls carrying Water.
The Stilt-walkers.
El Pelele (the scarecrow).
Muchachos climbing Trees.
Blindman's Buff.
The Sportsman with his Dogs.

Vicente Lopéz.
Portrait of Goya.

Bernardo Lopéz.
Portrait of the Queen Doña Maria Isabel de Braganza.

MUSEO DE ARTE MODERNO, MADRID.

Fortuny.
The Battle of Tetuan. Sketch for the picture at Barcelona.
* The Queen Regent with Doña Isabel, the girl Sovereign, exhorting the Spanish Troops to withstand the Carlists.

Federigo Madrazo.
Portrait of General San Miguel.

Vicente López.
Portrait of the Artist's Father.

Francisco Pradilla.
Jeanne la Folle.
A second picture, by Pradilla, "King Bobadil surrendering the Keys of Granada," is in the *Senado* or Senate of Madrid.

J. Casado.
The Bell of Huesca.

J. Villegas.
The Horrors of War.

Rosales.
Isabella Catolica dictating her Will.
The Death of Lucretia.

REAL ACADÉMIA DE BELLAS ARTES, MADRID.

Luis de Morales.
Pietà.

Blas del Prado.
Holy Family.

Alonso Cano.
The Crucifixion of Christ.

Zurbarán.
* Ecstasy of St. Benedict.

Ribera.
Assumption of the Magdalene (a fine early work).
Ecce Homo.

Murillo.
Ascension.
The Dream of the Roman Senator and his Wife.
The Interpretation of the Dream.
(Two of the pictures painted for the Church of Santa Maria la Blanca at Seville.)
Ecstasy of St. Francis.
St. Diego of Acala feeding the poor.
* St. Elizabeth of Hungary tending the sick; called "El Tiñoso."
(One of the pictures from la Caridad, at Seville.)

Appendix IV.

A. Pereda.
Dream of the Connoisseur.

F. Rizi.
St. Benito receiving Mass.

Juan Cabezalero.
A Miracle.

Francisco Goya.
* Portrait of the Painter in his youth.
Las Corridas de Toros.
El Auto de Fe.
The Procession of the Viérnes Santo.
El Entierro de la Sardina.
The draped Maja.
The nude Maja.

José de Madrazo.
Portrait of the Queen Doña Isabel II.

THE ESCORIAL.

Navarrete (El Mundo).
The Adoration of the Shepherds.
The Nativity.
St. Jerome.
Christ appearing to the Virgin.
In the Claustro Principál.
The Execution of St. James.
In the Sallas Capituláres.
St. Peter.
St. Andrew.
In the Coro Alto.
Eight studies of the Saints *for the side altars of the Church.*

These eight pictures were all that were completed when the painter died. Thirty-two altars had to be decorated. Several that Navarrete had left half finished were completed by Luis de Carbajal.

Domenico Theotocópuli (El Greco).
Martyrdom of St. Maurice.
The Dream of Philip II.
In the Sallas Capituláres.

Pantoja de la Cruz.
Charles V. (a copy from an earlier work, probably by Titian).
In the Sallas Capituláres.
Philip II., old.
Philip III.

Pantoja de la Cruz—*continued.*
Charles V. (from a picture of the Emperor, by Titian).
In the Library.

Jusepe de Ribera.
Jacob and his Flocks.
The Holy Trinity.
The Nativity.
St. Jerome.
A Portrait.
A Portrait.
In the Sallas Capituláres.

Velazquez.
The Sons of Jacob showing Joseph's Coat to their Father.
In the Sallas Capituláres.

Juan Carreño.
Charles II., young.
In the Library.

Claudio Coello.
* The Santa Forma.
In the Sacristía.

THE MUSEO PROVINCIAL, FORMERLY THE CONVENT DE LA MERCED, SEVILLE.

Francisco Frutet.
Grand Triptich—Jesus on the road to Calvary, The Entombment of Christ, Jesus Crucified between Two Thieves.

Pedro Villegas Marmolejo.
Ecce Homo.
The Flagellation of Christ.

Pablo de Céspedes.
The Last Supper.

Juan de las Roelas.
The Martyrdom of St. Andrew.
Santa Ana teaching the Virgin to read.

Francisco Varela.
San Augustín.
San Cristóbal.

El Greco.
* Portrait of himself.

Francisco Pacheco.

San Pedro Nolasco redeeming the Captives.
San Pedro Nolasco embraced by the Captives.
Apparition of the Virgin to San Ramón Nonnato.
Many studies of the saints.

Juan del Castillo.

Visitation of the Virgin.
Adoration of the Kings.
The Annunciation.
The Birth of Christ.
The Ascension of the Virgin.
Several studies of the saints.
Conception of the Virgin.

Juan de Valdés Leal.

The Conception of the Virgin.
The Ascension of the Virgin.
* The Virgin, the three Marys, and St. John searching for Jesus.
Marriage of St. Catherine.
A series of studies upon the life of St. Jerome, and six renderings of Jeronymite Saints.

Herrera *el Viego.*

Vision of San Basilio.
The Apotheosis of San Hermenegildo.
Four strong studies of the saints.

Herrera *el Mozo.*

San Fernando.

Zurbarán.

The Apotheosis of Santo Tomás de Aquino.
San Hugo in the Refectory.
San Bruno conversing with Pope Urban II.
The Virgin shadowing a company of Carthusians with her mantle.
The Eternal Father.
The Crucifixion.
The Saviour dead upon the Cross.
The Saviour dying upon the Cross.
El Niño Jesus.
Jesus with St. Joseph.
Many strong studies of the saints.

Miguel and Francisco Polancos.

Eleven Studies of the Saints and Apostles.

Murillo.

The Virgin with the Child Jesus, known as "La Virgen de la Servilleta."
San Féliz de Cantalicio and the Child Christ.
A Conception.
St. Augustine.
Santas Justa y Rufina.
The Annunciation of the Virgin.
San Leandro and San Buenaventura.
St. Anthony with the Child Christ in his Arms.
Piéta.
San Pedro Nolasco.
St. Augustine.
A Conception.
San Féliz de Cantalicio with the Virgin and Christ.
Santo Tomás de Villanueva succouring the Poor.
The Conception called "The Grand."
The Birth of Jesus.
Vision of St. Francis.
St. Anthony of Padua with the Child Jesus.
St. Augustine with the Virgin and Jesus.
St. John the Baptist.
St. Joseph with the Child Jesus.
A Virgin.
A Virgin? A strong early work. (*See* p. 209.)

Meneses Osorio.

St. Ciril of Alexandria in the Council of Ephesus.

Sebastián Gómez.

A Conception.

Pedro Nuñez de Villavicencio.

A Conception.

THE CATHEDRAL, SEVILLE.

Pedro de Pampeluna.

Illuminated Bible of Alfonso the Learned, *in the Biblioteca, Columbina.*
Fourteenth Century Pictures, *in the Capilla de la Antigua.*
Fifteenth Century Pictures, *in the Capilla de Santa Ana.*

Appendix IV.

Juan Nuñez.

Piéta, *in the Sacristía de los Cálicis.*

Pablo de Céspedes.

The Four Virtues, *in the Sala Capitular.*

Alejo Fernandez.

Conception.
Birth of the Virgin.
Purification.
(*Over the Sacristía Altar.*)

Pedro Campaña.

* The Descent from the Cross, *in the Sacristía Mayor.*
* Purification of the Virgin.
Several Portraits, *in the Capilla del Mariscal.*

Luís de Vargas.

* The Temporal Generation of our Lord, known as "La Gamba," *over the Altar de la Gamba.*
The Nativity, *over the Altar del Nacimiento.*

Pedro Villegas Marmolejo.

Virgin visiting Elizabeth, *over the Altar de la Visitación.*

Hernando Sturmio.

St. Gregory saying Mass.
Evangelists and Saints, *in the Capilla de los Evangelistas.*

Luis de Morales.

Triptich with Ecce Homo, *in the Sacristía de los Cálices.*

Juan de las Roelas.

Santiago destroying the Moors in the Battle of Clavijo, *in the Capilla de Santiago.*

El Greco.

* The Trinity, *in the Sacristía de los Cálices.*

Alonso Cano.

Our Lady of Bethlehem, *over the Altar de la Virgen de Belén.*

Juan de Valdés Leal.

San Ildefonso, *in the Capilla de San Francisco.*

Herrera *el Mozo.*

Glorification of St. Francis, *in the Capilla de San Francisco.*

Zurbarán.

The Legend of San Pedro, *in the Capilla de San Pedro.*
Other pictures of less importance.

Murillo.

The Guardian Angel.
St. Dorothy.
(*In the Sacristía de los Cálices.*)
* S.S. Leander and Isidore, *in the Sacristía Mayor.*
* The Conception.
Eight oval studies of the Saints, *in the Sala Capitular.*
St. Anthony of Padua's Vision of the Child Christ.
Baptism of Christ, *in the Capilla del Bautisterio.*
Mater Dolorosa, *in the Sacristía of the Capilla Real.*

Miguel de Tobar.

Holy Family, *over the altar, Nuestra Señora del Consuelo.*

Francisco Goya.

* Santas Justa y Rufina, *in the Sacristía de los Cálices.*

La Caridad, Seville.

Murillo.

Moses striking the Rock.
The Miracle of the Loaves and Fishes.
* San Juan de Dios.
The Child Baptist.
The Infant Christ.
The Annunciation.

Juan de Valdés Leal.

The Triumph of Death, also known as "In ictu oculi."
"Finis gloria mundi."
The Raising of the Cross.

La Universidad (the University) of Seville.

Alonso Cano.

Portraits (half-length) of St. Francis of Borja and Ignatius Loyola.

Zurbarán.
St. Dominic.

THE UNIVERSITY CHURCH.

Juan de las Roelas.
Adoration of the Magi.
Presentation in the Temple.
Holy Family.

Francisco Varela.
Adoration of the Shepherds.

Francisco Pacheco.
Annunciation.

Alonso Cano.
St. John the Evangelist and St. John the Baptist.

THE CHURCH OF SAN PEDRO.

Juan de las Roelas.
St. Peter freed from Prison by an Angel.

THE CHURCH OF SAN ISIDORO, SEVILLE.

Juan de las Roelas.
The Death of San Isidoro (the master-piece of the painter).

THE CHURCH OF SAN BERNARDO, SEVILLE.

Herrera ***el Viego.***
St. Michael and the Hosts of the Wicked.

THE CHURCH OF SANTA ANA, TRIANA, SEVILLE.

Alejo Fernandez.
Virgen de la Rosa.

CHURCH OF THE HOSPITAL DE LA SANGRE, SEVILLE.

Juan de las Roelas.
* Apotheosis of St. Hermenegild.
The Descent of the Holy Ghost. This picture is wrongly ascribed to Herrera *el Viego*, by Cean Bermudez.

Zurbarán.
Eight studies of female Saints.

COLLECTION OF DON LÓPEZ CEPERO, SEVILLE.

Pedro Sanchez.
* Entombment of Christ.

Pedro de Moya.
* Assumption of the Virgin.

Antonio Saavedra y Castillo.
* A Pastoral scene.
These pictures are reproduced in the book. Other pictures in the collection of special interest are :—

Pedro de Córdoba.
Holy Family.

Pablo de Céspedes.
Conception.

Pedro Campaña.
King Hermenegild.

Luis de Vargas.
Four studies in black and white of Christ and the Virgin.

Juan del Castillo.
Assumption.

Francisco Pacheco.
Four portraits.

Zurbarán.
Sketch of The Christ, with the Crown of Thorns.

Alonso Cano.
The Death of San Juan de Dios.

Ribera.
Virgin and Child.

Murillo.
Unfinished portrait sketch of the Painter.

ACADÉMIA DE BELLAS ARTES, CADIZ.

Alonso Cano.
The Virgin and Child appearing to St. Francis.

Herrera ***el Viego.***
Two strong studies of St. Peter and St. Paul.

Appendix IV.

Zurbarán.

The Building of the Church of the Porciúncula at Assisi by St. Francis.
San Bruno in Prayer.
The Pentecost.
Several studies of the Saints and Apostles.

Murillo.

Ecce Homo.

Capuchin Convent, Cadiz.

Murillo.

Marriage of St. Catherine (the last work of the painter).
Conception.
St. Francis receiving the Stigmata.

These pictures are ascribed to Murillo. They are poorly painted, and it seems doubtful if they are his work.

Museo Provencial de Pinturas, Valencia.

Several interesting early Spanish altar-pieces.

Juan de Juanes.

Ecce Homo.
Two studies of the Christ.
Betrothal of St. Agnes.
Assumption.
St. Vicente Ferrer and St. Vicente Martyr.
The Last Supper.

Francisco de Ribalta.

St. Francis embracing the Crucified Christ.
The Virgin and Christ.
Studies of St. Paul, St. Peter, St. Bruno, and St. John the Baptist.
Crucifixion of the Saviour.
The Coronation of the Virgin.
The Last Supper.
Portrait of a Man.

Juan de Ribalta.

The Crucifixion of Christ.

Ribera.

Martyrdom of St. Sebastian.
Studies of St. Jerome and St. Theresa.

Jerónimo de Espinosa.

Death of San Luis Beltram.
The Vision of San Pedro Nolasco.
Holy Family.
Communion of Mary Magdalene.
St. Louis of Toulouse.
San Jerónimo.
San Pedro Nolasco.

Pedro Orrente.

Several pastoral studies of the Saints.

Esteban March.

A series of battle-scenes.

Claudio Coello.

Portrait of a man.

Francisco Goya.

A portrait.
A portrait of a man.

Vicente López.

A portrait.

The Cathedral, known as La Seo, Valencia.

Juan de Juanes.

The Baptism of Christ.
Holy Family.
The Last Supper, *in the Sala Capitular.*
The Presentation in the Temple, *in the Capilla San Pedro.*

Francisco Ribalta.

Ecce Homo, *in the Capilla de San Antonio.*

Francisco Goya.

The Dream of San Francisco de Borga.
The Death of the Saint, where he bids adieu to his family, *in the Capilla de San Francisco.*

Iglesia del Corpus Christi, Valencia.

Francisco Ribalta.

The Holy Family.
Christ and the Saints appearing to St. Vicente de Ferrer.
The Last Supper.

THE CONVENT OF SAN JUAN DE LOS REYS, NOW THE MUSEO PROVENCIAL, TOLEDO.

El Greco.
Bird's-eye View of Toledo (containing a portrait of the painter's son).
The Crucifixion.
* Portrait of Antonio Covarrubias.
Portrait of Juan Alava.

Jusepe de Ribera.
Holy Family.

Luis de Morales.
Christ bearing the Cross.

Luis Tristan.
Studies of the Saints.

Juan Escalante de Sevilla.
A fine Scriptural study.

THE CATHEDRAL, TOLEDO.

El Greco.
Expolio de Jesus.
St. John the Evangelist, *in the Sacristía.*

Goya.
Betrayal of Christ, *in the Sacristía.*

Juan de Borgoña.
Series of thirteen scriptural paintings:—
Eight scenes in the life of the Virgin.
The Last Judgment.
The Descent from the Cross.
The Piéta.
The Resurrection.
The Presentation of the Chausible to San Ildefonso.
Series of portraits of the Archbishops of Toledo, *in the Sala Capitular.*
Series of frescoes on the Capture of Oran, *in the Capilla Mozárabe.*
Altar-painting, illustrating the history of Christ, *in the Capilla de San Eugenio.*

Jusepe de Ribera.
John the Baptist, *in the Capilla de Santa Lucía.*

INTERESTING EARLY PICTURES.

Retablo with pictures by Juan Alfon, *in the Capilla de Reyes Viejos.*
The Virgin with her Child, by an unknown fifteenth-century painter, *in the Sala Capitular.*
Early Italian frescoes, *in the Capilla San Blas* (*in the Gothic Cloisters*).

THE CHURCH OF SANTO TOMÉ, TOLEDO.

El Greco.
* The Burial of Count Orgaz (the master-work of the painter).

HOSPITAL DE AFUERA, TOLEDO.

Portrait of Cardinal Tavera.
St. John the Baptist.

THE CHURCH OF SAN JOSÉ, TOLEDO.

El Greco.
St. Martin giving his Cloak to a Beggar (the saint is a portrait of El Greco's son, George Manuel Theotocópuli).
The Virgin and Child, with various Saints.
Holy Family.
St. Francis.

THE CHURCH OF SAN VINCENTE, TOLEDO.

El Greco.
Assumption of the Virgin.

THE CHURCH OF SANTO DOMINGO EL ANTIGUO, TOLEDO.

El Greco.
Studies of St. Paul, St. John the Baptist, St. Benedict, and St. Bernard.
Assumption. A copy of the first picture painted by El Greco at Toledo, in 1577. (*See* Appendix III.)

Luis Tristan.
St. Ildefonso.

CHURCH OF SAN ANDRÉS, TOLEDO.

Studies of St. Peter and St. Francis.

Appendix V.

Spanish Pictures in Public Galleries in London.

The National Gallery.

Diego Velazquez.

Room XIV.

(THE SPANISH SCHOOL.)

Philip IV. of Spain hunting the Wild Boar (see p. 239).

The picture was once in the Royal Palace at Madrid. It was presented by Ferdinand VII. to the late Lord Cowley. It was purchased for the National Gallery in 1846.

Philip IV., King of Spain. Bust-portrait of king when old (see p. 248).

The picture was formerly in the collection of Prince Demidoff, Florence. It was purchased from M. Sano, in Paris, in 1865.

Philip IV., King of Spain.

Full-length portrait. The picture was purchased in London in 1882, at the sale of the Hamilton Palace pictures.

Christ at the Column.

Presented to the nation by Lord Savile in 1883 (see p. 239).

The Spanish Admiral Pulido-Pareja (see p. 240).

Purchased in 1890 from the Longford Castle collection.

Christ in the House of Martha (see p. 231).

Sketch of a Duel in the Prado.

These two pictures were bequeathed to the nation in 1892 by the Right Hon. Sir William H. Gregory.

A Betrothal.

Presented to the nation by Lord Savile in 1895.

Bartolomé Esteban Murillo.

The Holy Family (see p. 224).

This picture was painted at Cadiz, and was probably the last completed work of the painter. Until the year 1810 it belonged to the family of the Marquis del Pedroso, but at that time it was brought to England. In 1837 it was purchased for the National Gallery from Mr. T. B. Bulkeley Owen.

Spanish Peasant Boy looking out of a window (see p. 210).

The picture was formerly in the collection of the Marquis of Lansdowne. It was presented to the nation in 1826 by Mr. M. M. Zachary.

St. John with the Lamb.

Purchased from Sir Simon Clarke in 1840.

The Nativity of the Virgin.

This picture is said to be a sketch for the large composition upon the same subject in the Louvre. It was presented to the nation by Lord Savile in 1888.

A Peasant Boy drinking.

Bequeathed to the nation by Mr. John Staniforth Beckett in 1889.

Domenico Theotocópuli El Greco.

An Ecclesiastic dressed in the robes of a Cardinal, erroneously called St. Jerome.

At one time the picture was thought to be the work of Titian. It was purchased in 1882 at the sale of the Hamilton Palace collection.

El Greco—*continued.*

Christ driving out the Traders from the Temple.

There are several renderings of this scene by the painter (see p. 114). It was presented to the nation by Sir J. Charles Robinson in 1895.

Francisco de Zurbarán.

The Adoration of the Shepherds, commonly called "The Manger."

The picture was formerly ascribed to Velazquez, but there is little doubt that in reality it is the work of Zurbarán (see p. 183).

A Franciscan Monk in Prayer (see p. 178).

Both these pictures were formerly in the Spanish Gallery of Louis Philippe in the Louvre. They were purchased for the National Gallery at the sale of the collection in London in 1853.

St. Margaret, a Spanish señora dressed in the costume of Andalusia (see p. 179). Purchased from the Marquis of Northampton in 1903.

Francisco Goya.

Portrait of Doña Isabel Corbo de Porcel.

The picture was purchased in Madrid from Don Andres de Urzaiz in 1896.

Portrait of Don Peral.

Lent to the National Gallery.

La merienda campestre (The Pic-nic).

El hechizado por fuerza (The Bewitched).

Both these pictures were purchased in Madrid at the sale of the Duke of Osuna's collection in 1896 (see p. 278).

Jusepe de Ribera, "lo Spagnoletto."

The Dead Christ.

Presented to the nation in 1853 by David Barclay, Esq.

Shepherd with a Lamb.

Bequeathed to the nation by Lord Colborne in 1854.

These pictures convey no idea of Ribera's power as a painter (see p. 195).

Pedro Campaña.

Mary Magdalene led by Martha to hear the Preaching of Christ.

This picture is probably the one mentioned by Lanzi in his *Storia Pittorica*, II. iii., Firenze, 1882. It was brought to England by Dr. J. P. Richter, from whom it was purchased in 1888. The picture is not hung in the Spanish Room (see p. 73). Campaña is, however, included in the list of painters of the Spanish School given in the catalogue of the National Gallery.

Luis de Morales.

The Virgin and Child (see p. 70).

Presented to the nation by Mr. G. F. de Zoete in 1887.

Francisco de Herrera, "*el Mozo.*"

Christ disputing with the Doctors (see p. 136).

Bequeathed to the nation by Mrs. Alexander Lang Elder in 1899.

Juan de Valdès Leal.

The Assumption of the Virgin (see p. 143).

The picture was brought from Spain by Captain the Hon. Frederick Charteris, R.N. It was purchased from his widow in 1889.

Juan Bautista Martinez del Mazo.

Portrait of a Man.

Presented to the nation by Mr. C. H. Crompton-Roberts in 1890.

THE WALLACE COLLECTION, HERTFORD HOUSE.

Diego Velazquez.

Don Baltasar Carlos in the Riding-school (see p. 239).

Portrait of a Spanish Lady ("La femme à l'Eventail"). The same lady is represented in the wonderful sketch of "The Lady in the Mantilla," in the collection of the Duke of Devonshire (see p. 242).

Don Baltasar Carlos in Infancy.

A second portrait of Don Baltasar Carlos, ascribed to Velazquez, is probably the work of Juan Bautista del Mazo.

Appendix V.

Bartolomé Esteban Murillo.

The Virgin and Child.
The Marriage of the Virgin.
The Adoration of the Shepherds.
Joseph and his Brethren.
The Holy Family.
The Annunciation.
The Charity of St. Thomas Villanueva.
A Sketch of the Virgin in Glory with Saints adoring.
A Sketch of the Assumption of the Virgin.

Alonso Cano.

The Vision of St. John the Evangelist.

DULWICH GALLERY.

Diego Velazquez.

Philip IV. of Spain.

The picture known as the "Fraga portrait" (see p. 241).

A small copy, somewhat dull and heavy in colour, of the equestrian portrait of Don Baltasar Carlos, in the Museo del Prado.

Bartolomé Esteban Murillo.

A Spanish Flower Girl.
Two Spanish Peasant Boys and a Negro Boy.
Two Spanish Peasant Boys (see p. 210).
The Madonna del Rosario.

The picture has been much repainted.

Jusepe de Ribera.

A Locksmith.

The picture was formerly ascribed to Caravaggio. It is a strong study, and gives more idea of Ribera's power than his pictures in the National Gallery.

Juan de Pareja, called "el esclavo de Velazquez."

Portrait of a Boy.

VICTORIA AND ALBERT MUSEUM, SOUTH KENSINGTON.

The Son of Maestro Rodrigo.

(See Appendix II., p. 318.)

The Adoration of the Magi.

Passavant, in his book *Christian Arts in Spain*, speaks of an "Adoration of the Magi" of great merit, belonging to a private resident in Valencia. As this picture corresponds exactly to the description he gives, and is signed in a similar manner, it may possibly be the same work.

HAMPTON COURT.

Velazquez.

Philip IV. of Spain.
Doña Isabel of Bourbon, first wife of Philip IV.

Jusepe de Ribera.

St. John with a Lamb.
Duns Scotus.

Juan Pantoja de la Cruz.

Philip III. of Spain.

(The picture is inscribed: "*Ju: Pantaja de la Vallcolit Regiæ Majestatis Philip . . . pictor faciebat. 1605.*" There is a similar painting at Cobham Hall, Kent.)

Juan Carreño de Miranda.

Don Carlos, son of Philip IV.

Appendix VI.

Important Spanish Pictures in the Principal Continental Galleries.

Diego Velazquez.

France: The Louvre, Paris.

Portrait of the Infanta Doña Margarita Maria (inscribed in large letters "L'Infante Marguerite").
Philip IV. of Spain.
Head of Philip IV.
The Infanta Doña Maria Teresa.
Don Pedro de Altamira, the Dean of the Royal Chapel in Toledo.

Russia: The Hermitage, St. Petersburg.

Pope Innocent X. (Study for the picture in the Doria Pamphili Palace at Rome.)
Philip IV. of Spain.
Bust of Philip IV.
Olivarez, Duke of San Lucar.
Bust of the same.
Young Boy, Laughing.

Germany: Royal Picture Gallery, Dresden.

Gaspar de Gúzman, the Conde-Duque d'Olivarez.
Bust portrait of a man in black, with a gold cord.
Portrait of a Man in black.

Royal Museum, Berlin.

Alessandro del Borro.
A Spanish Court Dwarf.
Doña Maria Anna, sister of Philip IV.
Study of a Woman.

The Pinakothek, Munich.

Portrait of the Artist. (Bad condition; genuineness uncertain.)
The Infanta Doña Maria Marguerite as a child.
A Young Spaniard, in black.

Austria: The Picture Gallery, Vienna.

Tbe Infanta Doña Maria Teresa (about three years old).
Three-quarter length portrait of the Princess (about twelve years old).
A third presentment, in the same position (about fifteen years old).
Three-quarter length portrait of Philip IV.
Bust of Philip IV.
The Infante Don Felipe Prosper, son of Philip IV. (about two years old).
Queen Doña Isabel de Borbón, first wife of Philip IV.
Three-quarter length portrait of the same.
The Infanta Doña Margarita Teresa (four or five years old).
A second portrait of the Princess (nine years old).
The Infante Don Baltasar Carlos.
Queen Doña Maria Ana.
The Laughing Youth.
The Family Group of Velazquez (wife, children, and grandchildren — twelve figures), formerly believed to be the work of Velazquez, is now ascribed to one of his pupils, probably Juan Bautista del Mazo.

Holland: The Museum, The Hague.

Portrait of the Infante Don Baltazar Carlos.

The Museum, Amsterdam.

Portrait of the Infante Don Baltazar Carlos.

Italy: Doria Pamphili Palace, Rome.

Portrait of Pope Innocent X.

Picture Gallery of the Capital.

Portrait of the Painter. (The authenticity of this work is doubtful.)

Diego Velazquez—*continued.*

The Pitti Palace and Uffizi Gallery, Florence.

Philip IV. of Spain.
Two portraits of the Painter, said to be painted by himself.

Picture Gallery, Turin.

Head of Philip IV.
Study of a Man.

Bartolomé Esteban Murillo.

France: The Louvre, Paris.

The Immaculate Conception.
A second presentment of the same scene.
The Holy Family.
The Nativity of the Virgin.
Christ in the Garden of the Mount of Olives.
Christ at the Column.
The Miracle of San Diego (one of the pictures painted for the Franciscan Convent at Seville).
The Virgin in Glory, with attending Angels.
The Virgin of the Rosary.
A study of a Beggar Boy (known as "El Piojoso").
The poet Que 'vedo.
The Duc d'Osuna.

Russia: The Hermitage, St. Petersburg.

Jacob's Dream.
Isaac blessing Jacob.
The Annunciation.
The Conception.
Two renderings of The Adoration of the Shepherds.
St. Joseph carrying the Infant Christ.
St. Joseph leading the Child Christ, attended by two Angels.
Flight into Egypt.
Repose in Egypt.
The Holy Family.
The Saviour on the Cross.
The Assumption of the Virgin.
St. Peter released from Prison.
The Vision of St. Anthony.
The Death of the Inquisitor Don Pedro Arbuez.
Celestine and her Daughter in Prison (heads only).
A youth with a dog.
A peasant boy with a dog and basket.
A peasant girl with a basket of flowers.

Germany: Royal Picture Gallery, Dresden.

The Martyrdom of St. Roderick.
Madonna and Child.

Royal Museum, Berlin.

The Child Christ appearing to St. Anthony of Padua (carried by Marshal Soult from Seville).

The Pinakothek, Munich.

San Juan de Dios healing a Lame Man.
Two beggar boys of Seville eating grapes.
Two street urchins with their little dog.
Three beggar boys, two throwing dice.
A girl and boy with a basket of fruit.
An old woman with a child.

Austria: The Picture Gallery, Vienna.

St. John the Baptist as a Child.

The Buda-Pesth Gallery.

The Virgin and Child.
Holy Family.
The Flight into Egypt.
St. Joseph and Christ.
Christ distributing the Bread.
Portrait of a man (for long called wrongly the likeness of the artist).

Holland: The Museum, The Hague.

The Virgin and Christ.

The Museum, Amsterdam.

The Annunciation of the Virgin.

Domenico Theotocópuli El Greco.

France: The Louvre, Paris.

King Fernando of Aragon.

This picture has been recently added to the collection of Spanish pictures in the Louvre.

Russia: The Hermitage, St. Petersburg.

Portrait of the Poet Alonso Ercilla y Zuniga.

Austria: Picture Gallery of Vienna.

Portrait of a Man. (Under the signature "Teoscopoli" there are two indistinct words, of which the first seems to be "Stephanus".)

Francisco de Zurbarán.

France: The Louvre, Paris.

Saint Apolline. (The picture bears the title "St. Polonia.")
San Pedro, Nolasco.
The Funeral of a Bishop.

Russia: The Hermitage, St. Petersburg.

The Prayer of the Virgin.
Saint Laurence.
Portrait of a young Peasant.

Germany: Royal Picture Gallery, Dresden.

Saint Celestin.
The Election of St. Bonaventura.

Royal Museum, Berlin.

St. Bonaventura displaying the Crucifix to St. Thomas Aquinas.
A picture of the Scourging of Christ that belongs to the Berlin Gallery has been lent since 1884 to the Museum at Breslau.

The Pinakothek, Munich.

Saint Francis of Assisi.

Jusepe de Ribera (lo Spagnoletto).

France: The Louvre, Paris.

The Club-foot.
The Virgin.
Two portrait studies of a Philosopher.
Christ at the Tomb.
(Four other pictures are ascribed to Ribera, but their authenticity is very doubtful.)

Russia: The Hermitage, St. Petersburg.

Martyrdom of San Sebastián.
Second presentment of the same subject.
Two studies of Saint Jerome in the Desert.
Saint Procope.

Germany: Royal Picture Gallery, Dresden.

St. Agnes kneeling in Prayer before her Grave.
Formerly this picture was thought to be a presentment of St. Maria of Egypt; afterwards, for a short time, it was supposed to be Mary Magdalene.
The Release of Peter.
St. Francis of Assisi and the Angel.
Martyrdom of St. Bartholomew.
Martyrdom of St. Laurence.
St. Paul the Hermit fed by a Raven.
The same saint holding the Cross in his hand.
St. Andrew.
St. Jerome.
Jacob watching Laban's sheep.
Diogenes with the Lantern.
Portrait of a Sage in deep meditation.
Bust of a man in black.
Portrait of a man holding a letter in his left hand.

Royal Museum, Berlin.

St. Jerome. (An exact repetition of the picture in the Prado.)
St. Sebastian.
A Martyrdom of St. Bartholomew of inferior workmanship, was formerly ascribed to the painter. It is probably a copy belonging to the later half of the seventeenth century.
A Holy Family, at one time also ascribed to the painter, but now known to be a copy, has been lent since 1884 to the Kunstverein, Wiesbaden.

The Pinakothek, Munich.

Body of St. Andrew being taken from the Cross by two Soldiers.
The Dying Seneca.
An old Pedlar Woman.
The Penitent Peter.
St. Bartholomew.
St. Onuphrius in Prayer.
A Franciscan Monk gazing at a Skull.

Austria: The Picture Gallery of Vienna.

Christ and the Doctors.
The Penitent Peter.
Two studies of a Philosopher.

Italy. Many of Ribera's pictures are at Naples. (*See* p. 191.)

Alonso Cano.

Russia: The Hermitage, St. Petersburg.

The Virgin with her Child.
The Infant Jesus with the little St. John.

Appendix VI.

Alonso Cano—*continued.*

Portrait of a man, supposed to be the painter.
(Another portrait of Alonso Cano by himself formed part of the Spanish Gallery of Louis Philippe at the Louvre.)
Portrait of a Knight.

Germany: Royal Picture Gallery, Dresden.

Life-size study of St. Paul the Apostle.

Royal Muséum, Berlin.

St. Agnes (as a martyr with palms).

The Pinakothek, Munich.

The Vision of St. Anthony.

Francisco de Herrera *el Viego.*

France: The Louvre, Paris.

St. Basil dictating his Doctrine.

Germany: Royal Picture Gallery, Dresden.

Bust of the Apostle Matthew.

Francisco Goya.

France: The Louvre, Paris.

Portrait of Guillemardet, Ambassadeur Français in 1789.
Portrait of a young Spanish woman.

Morales, Juan de Juanes, Navarrete, Roelas, Herrera *el Mozo*, Alonso Sanchez Coello, Pantoja de la Cruz, Claudio Coello, Carreño, as well as many other Spanish painters, have pictures in the Louvre, in the Hermitage, St. Petersburg, in the Dresden Gallery, or in one of the Continental Galleries, but almost without exception, the pictures are unimportant. The less known Spanish painters can only be studied in the Prado Museo at Madrid, and in the churches and museos of their native provinces.

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